

*Binsley*

*The Department of State*

# bulletin

Vol. XXVII, No. 701

December 1, 1952



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## Chief Imperatives Bearing Upon the Atlantic Coalition

*Remarks by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>*

The common theme of visitors to one side of the border or the other is the happy and cordial relations which exist between our countries and our peoples, in the course of which the inevitable reference to the border appears.

What seems to me perhaps more interesting than the obvious fact of this relationship is how it came to be so, particularly in view of some of the impediments in the way. Let me refer to one of those impediments which is perhaps not as well-known as some others.

Forty years ago, an eminent predecessor of mine, Elihu Root, was testifying before a Senate Committee on the Boundary Waters Treaty between the United States and Canada. During the hearings he said:

Before starting on the treaty, however, let me make an explanation. There have been great difficulties between the U. S. and Canada for years because of the fact that we had to negotiate with Great Britain regarding affairs between us and our next neighbor. I would make some proposition to the British Ambassador here. He would send it to the Foreign Office in London, the Foreign Office would send it to the Colonial Office, and the Colonial Office would send it to the Government at Ottawa. They have no foreign office there. . . .

Finally, Sir Wilfred Laurier would find some time to pay some attention to it, and he would send back what he had to say to the Colonial Office, the Colonial Office would send it to the Foreign Office and the Foreign Office would send it to the British Ambassador here, and he would come to us, and by that time, I would probably have forgotten what it was about. It would take 6 months to get through each step, particularly if we had an Ambassador here who didn't care anything about it. . . . Another incident to that situation is that Canada was never satisfied with anything that was done.

Well, things are much swifter and I think much happier since the days described by Elihu Root. Today, all kinds of devices, mechanical and electronic keep our two capitals in constant and instantaneous communication.

In fact we are blessed in this era with a form of diplomatic communication which is faster than instantaneous. I refer to the press, which, such are

the wonders of modern journalism, often precedes the event, and sometimes reliably. Indeed, the press rumor or "leak" has become an almost indispensable adjunct to modern-day diplomacy. Perhaps this is a form of government austerity, designed to reduce cable tolls. In any case, there is no diplomatic interchange nowadays that is not preceded by, enlarged by, refracted by, or nullified by a covey of press rumors, speculations, and leaks, propelled, like those pneumatic tubes in the department stores, by air—mostly hot. Elihu Root was better off than he knew.

There is one respect in which he was not better off, and that is in the friendship and understanding that has grown steadily more close between us. I think my friend Mike Pearson expressed it well when he said, last spring:

U.S.-Canadian relations remain close and friendly and we must keep them that way. This will require on our part in Canada an appreciation of the enormous burden which the U.S. is shouldering in the struggle to keep men free. . . . It will require on the part of the U.S. knowledge and understanding of Canada, its present position and its potential greatness.

I think that is right, and that this relationship is a fact of considerable importance.

What most of us see and feel is the way these close bonds are illustrated in the patterns of our daily lives—in the millions of Canadians and Americans who visit each other's country each year—in the great flow of trade across our borders, a trade which benefits the people of both countries—and in the day-to-day cooperation we have on a multitude of problems.

### **The Permanent Joint Board on Defense**

But perhaps even more important is the closeness of the approach both you and we take to international problems. Since as far back as 1940, we have given evidence of our understanding that we share a common fate, by our successful efforts through the Permanent Joint Board on Defense.

I should like to digress for a moment to talk

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Canadian Club at Ottawa on Nov. 21 (press release 886).



about the Permanent Joint Board as a particularly significant expression of the entirely unique relationship between our countries.

I speak about it out of the most affectionate knowledge, because one of the happiest recollections of my public life is the memory of my period of service as chairman of the American section of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the Board is both significant and interesting. The expression "Permanent Joint Board" was no accident, but was the careful decision of Prime Minister Mackenzie-King and President Franklin Roosevelt, both of whom laid great stress on the word "permanent."

Now this was an act which was not only imaginative but showed real insight by both men into their own and each other's country.

This Permanent Joint Board is not founded on any treaty or any legislative act. It is not set up to devise treaties or agreements. It is an organization made up of equal numbers of Americans and Canadians, who consider defense questions and make joint recommendations to their two governments. They do not ask their governments for agreements or binding obligations of any sort. Yet the interesting and significant fact is that in the history of the Board, already more than 12 years old, I believe that every recommendation made by the Board has been and is being carried out by both governments as an act of voluntary will.

I remember particularly one thorny question which for years bedeviled the Department of State and the Department of External Affairs. Unable to solve it, someone had the happy idea of referring it to the Permanent Joint Board, which in a remarkably short time came up with a joint recommendation that solved the problem.

I hesitate to believe that this incident reflects on the diplomats of either country. I think rather the success came out of the habits of work of the Permanent Joint Board: Colleagues work over a problem continuously and exhaustively until, through the pressure of good will and hard work, the solution is forced out.

I think this Canadian-American experience has been helpful in developing the common defense work which 14 nations have been carrying out in NATO. Here again, Canada and the United States have been working closely together to help create a strong Atlantic community as an effective deterrent to Soviet aggression in Europe.

And here again, many of the actions taken lie in the field of coordination of effort rather than through binding agreements upon the nations concerned. For, as the Atlantic countries take voluntary action to carry out common programs developed in common—as they do, much of the friction and difficulty which comes about in trying to arrive at binding agreements is obviated.

<sup>2</sup> January 1947–January 1948.

We are, in my judgment, entering a period in which the close union of free nations is becoming even more important than ever before as a key to the world situation. Unity among the free nations has always been desirable, always important; but it is now becoming a major point of attack by the Communists, and a condition essential to the survival of freedom.

Now, it is not very hard to get agreement on the word "unity." It is one of those favorable symbols that everyone acknowledges at once as a good thing to have. But the difficulty comes when you go beyond the word, beyond the symbol, when you apply the idea of unity in practice.

The problems which concern us in the relationships between the free nations are so manifold, so complex, and so difficult that we all have a natural tendency to oversimplify and to sloganize in our popular discussions of these issues. When on top of this, these slogans and simplifications become charged with emotion, when they are loaded with our frustrations and anxieties, when they are picked up and exploited for partisan purposes, and directed against allies, then there is apt to be mischief between us.

And this is something that is happening, in various places, and something that we must all guard against.

#### **Pressures Created by Defense Programs**

Now, one of the reasons this is happening, I believe, is that the defense program has created pressures and burdens which we should all like to avoid if it were possible to do so. We do not all have the same assessment of the degree of danger that confronts us, or the same degree of urgency in our approach to the necessity for building our defenses. As you know, the United States has believed it essential to build up the strength and unity of the free nations to the point where it will be a deterrent against attack. We realize that this is not a popular position to take. We understand that, as a consequence of this, some of the inevitable and understandable resentment against the effects of the arms-building program have been and are being directed against us. But the important thing is that progress has been made; where there was weakness and vulnerability to attack, there has been built up an increasing measure of strength and resolution.

And particularly is this true among the nations of the Atlantic community, which has developed in a very short space of time from a conception to a reality, from a defense plan to a defense organization.

Now, as the progress has been made, as NATO and the other alliances have been strengthened, as Japan and Germany have moved toward association with the community of free nations, two important things have been happening.

One is that, in some quarters of the free world,



there has developed a false, and at best premature, sense of security. Some among our people have been influenced by their own hopes in estimating the true nature of the danger confronting us. This has led them to the dangerous illusion that the very effort which has brought us this far in our pursuit of security can now be safely relaxed, and that we can now indulge in the luxury of baiting our allies for partisan or other purposes.

The other consequence of this progress has to do with its effect on the Soviet side. We are not privy to the inner plans of the Soviet high command, but they have given public evidence recently of a redirection of their effort toward an increased exploitation of the strains and fissures among the free nations.

The speeches and articles published in connection with the recent Soviet Communist Party Congress all suggested high expectations for crisis and conflict among the non-Soviet nations. Stalin, in his now-famous article in the magazine *Bolshevik*, reaffirmed the standard Leninist thesis that wars are inevitable under capitalism, and he implied that a war between the so-called capitalist states was as likely as a war between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

One after the other, speakers before the Communist Party Congress presented an analysis that economic competition, political rivalries, colonial questions, and other problems would bring the free nations into increasing conflict with one another. In laying down the tactics for the period ahead, emphasis was placed on aggravating these differences, especially between the United States and its allies, and also between the peoples and their present governments within the free countries. The point of this tactic is to check the progress that is being made to restore the power of the free nations, to break up the unity that has been developing among them, and to do this by exploiting the real difficulties they are facing.

These difficulties we face are real, and they are by no means all created by the Soviets, though they are made much more difficult of settlement by the threatening policies of the Soviet Union.

I am confident that these expectations of the Soviet Union can and will be disappointed, just as their expectations of wide-spread collapse of the non-Soviet world after the war were frustrated by the resolute action of the free nations.

### Unity of Peoples and Governments

As I have said many times in talking with United States audiences, the difference between confidence and complacency in regarding the future rests with an understanding that a satisfactory outcome will not present itself automatically. It depends upon what we do. And the special emphasis I should like to leave with you this afternoon is that this is a matter for people as much as it is for governments.

We have achieved a fair degree of unity among governments among the free nations, particularly in the Atlantic community. But we shall not have a secure base unless we have a unity of people as well as a unity of governments. Our coalition would be fragile if it rested only upon a close understanding between governmental leaders, without a strong base of popular support.

One of the urgent tasks before us is to see to it that a common appreciation of the danger is shared and understood all the way down to the "grass roots" in each of our countries, and that there is common agreement on and popular support for the main lines of action that are required.

The durability of our alliance, and its capacity to throw back this latest form of the Soviet onslaught, depends now upon the support it receives in our towns and villages, and not just in our capital cities.

The chief imperatives which bear upon the free nations today require not so much genius and inspiration at the top as comprehension and determination all the way down.

This is true of our fight in Korea. The conflict in Korea is far more important, I believe, than most of our people have yet understood. Far more than the fate of that remote peninsula will be determined by the staunchness and steadiness of our support of that action. Here is the first real effort to make collective security a reality. If collective security is to be more than a slogan, more than a pious expression, if it is to be instead the foundation of peace and security, then this action in Korea must be supported with unshakeable determination by all free nations and all free men. If our governments or our people, through failure of will or of understanding, destroy the significance of this action, we shall be thrown back upon the futile pieties of the twenties and the thirties as our sole defense against the approach of another World War.

This is no less true of the movement toward European unity. It is not enough for a few outstanding statesmen to share the vision. Unless the people of Europe, of whatever party and whatever country, really understand that all their present differences are as nothing compared to the fate that awaits a disunited Europe, the heroic labors of Europe's statesmen will come to nothing.

And the same is true of the urgent requirement that faces us in the field of economic policy. It is widely recognized now that the emergency-aid basis of propping up the economic foundations of our alliance is at best a temporary device, and must be supplanted by coordinated policies on all sides that will encourage production and trade. This again is a matter in which a weakly articulated general interest will suffer before the militant and organized special interest, unless we succeed in creating broad comprehension and support among the people in each of our countries. Perhaps it is in this field that article II of the North

Atlantic Treaty, in which Canada has always expressed the deepest interest, will have its greatest fruition.

In short, it is not enough to have a cat-walk at the top between our respective leaderships; we must have connecting passageways between our peoples at all levels. Only then can we keep our problems and our differences in some kind of decent perspective, a perspective which reminds us that our common interest and our common fate are far greater and far more important than any conceivable differences between us.

To create this kind of approach to our problems seems to me the most urgent job facing all of us who believe in the future of freedom, whether we are public officials or private citizens.

## **President, General Eisenhower Discuss International Problems**

White House press release dated November 18

*President Truman and General Eisenhower met on November 18 at the White House. After conferring by themselves, they met with the Secretaries of State, Defense, and Treasury, the Director of Mutual Security, and General Eisenhower's associates, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Joseph E. Dodge.*

*At the end of the talks, the President and General Eisenhower issued the following statement:*

We have discussed some of the most important problems affecting our country in the sphere of international relations. Information with respect to these problems has been made available to General Eisenhower.

Under our Constitution the President must exercise his functions until he leaves office, and his successor cannot be asked to share or assume the responsibilities of the Presidency until he takes office.

We have worked out a framework for liaison and exchange of information between the present Administration and the incoming Administration, but we have made no arrangements which are inconsistent with the full spirit of our Constitution. General Eisenhower has not been asked to assume any of the responsibilities of the Presidency until he takes the oath of office.

We believe, however, that the arrangements we have made for cooperation will be of great value to the stability of our country and to the favorable progress of international affairs.

We are confident that this meeting and that the arrangements we have made today for liaison and cooperation between the present Administration and the new Administration furnish additional proof of the ability of the people of this country to manage their affairs with a sense of continuity and with responsibility.

## **Latest Czechoslovak Charges Against Mutual Security Act**

*Following is the text of a note delivered on November 18 by the American Embassy at Prague to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:*

### **TEXT OF U.S. NOTE OF NOVEMBER 18**

Press release 880 dated November 20

The American Embassy presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to refer to the latter's note No. 133.152/52-ABO/1 of October 13, 1952, alleging aggressive and hostile activities of the United States Government against Czechoslovakia.

The United States Government categorically rejects the allegations contained in the note under reference which recapitulate charges repeatedly made by the Czechoslovak Government and clearly refuted in previous communications of the Embassy to the Ministry.

As stated in the United States note of December 19, 1951 to the Soviet Union,<sup>1</sup> the text of which was enclosed in the Embassy's note No. 169 of December 26, 1951, the Mutual Security Act is designed to strengthen the defense of the free world, to support the freedom of Europe through assistance to the defense of the NATO countries, and to provide assistance for victims of oppression when such assistance has been determined to contribute to the defense of the North Atlantic area. As is well known, the Mutual Security Act has helped the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to fulfill its purposes which, set forth in the North Atlantic Treaty, are collective defense and preservation of international peace and security in support of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Expenditures under the Act are authorized only for programs conforming to these essential purposes. The various Mutual Security Act programs, including military, economic and technical assistance have no aggressive aims. They represent a broad, constructive response, in full conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to the needs of the free world in face of the threat from the aggressive tendencies of international Communism.

The Czechoslovak Government has made numerous charges in connection with Section 101 (a) of the Mutual Security Act, authorizing expenditures up to \$100 million in assistance to the victims of communist tyranny. The United States has not carried on aggressive activities contrary to the United Nations Charter and has no intention of doing so in connection with this \$100 million authorization or otherwise. On the contrary, the United States now has in operation under Section

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 31, 1951, p. 1056.

101 of the Mutual Security Act a continuing program for extending care and assistance in resettlement to refugees from communist oppression in Eastern Europe. This purely humanitarian program follows the tradition of the American people to come to the aid of the suffering and oppressed. It is completely consistent with the policy of the United Nations in regard to the rendering of assistance to persons fleeing from their homelands. The United States will not be deterred from the continuance of these efforts by false charges of aggression and interference in the domestic affairs of Czechoslovakia or other communist states.

Only the congenital suspicion of the communists prompting them to see espionage everywhere and their habitual practice of accusing others of their own acts could cause humanitarian assistance to refugees to be treated as subversion. It can be only too plain to world opinion that Czechoslovakia has again made false charges of United States aggression and interference in its domestic affairs in order to conceal the unhappy conditions in that country which impel its citizens to seek freedom by escape and to distract attention from communist espionage operations in many countries.

The note of the Czechoslovak Government repeats shopworn charges against Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America and the United States diplomatic officers in Czechoslovakia. The first of these has already been refuted in the Embassy's note of August 24, 1951.<sup>2</sup> The United States Government must regard as a wild phantasy the allegation that the Voice of America supports, or issues directives to, agents in Czechoslovakia. A country which constantly conducts a vicious hate campaign against the United States proceeds with singular inconsistency in protesting objective presentation and legitimate criticism by the Voice of America. As for United States diplomatic officers in Czechoslovakia, they are adhering scrupulously in pursuit of their duties to the established standards of international conduct. The Czechoslovak Government's attempts to distort their activities otherwise are totally unwarranted and incompatible with long-standing diplomatic practice, and unfortunately contribute to intensify international tensions.

#### TEXT OF CZECHOSLOVAK NOTE OF OCTOBER 13

[Unofficial Translation]

No. 133.152/52-ABO/1

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America and has the honor to advise the following:

On September 21, 1952, two agents sent to the territory of Czechoslovakia from Western Germany murdered Frantisek Mika and Karel Jugl, members of the Local National Committee of Revnicev, District of Nove Straseci.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1951, p. 417.

In the course of rounding up these agents who were equipped and armed by United States authorities, weapons, forged identification papers, and documents were found, which together with other material proved that the intelligence service of the United States of America organized espionage and terrorist activities on the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The murder of two brave Czechoslovak citizens caused deep indignation throughout the country. The Czechoslovak people know that this is not the only case of such character. The United States Government has been using for its systematic hostile activities against Czechoslovakia the territory of Western Germany and Austria occupied by United States troops. In the so-called Mutual Security Act of October 10, 1951, under which 100 million dollars had been allocated to subversive and armed activities against peace-loving countries, the United States Government proclaimed such activities as its program. Organs of the United States intelligence service have been recruiting agents from among war criminals, emigré traitors, and common criminals who fled to Western Germany to escape the punishment they deserved. These agents are trained in special training centers, supplied with large amounts of money, weapons, forged documents, explosives, and other equipment, and are sent to Czechoslovakia to commit espionage, terrorist activities, and murder. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has protested many times against these hostile activities of the United States authorities and pointed out that these agents were supported and instructed by broadcasts of the official United States radio service the Voice of America and of the so-called Radio Free Europe whose officials closely cooperate with United States authorities. In many cases bands of such agents had been directed, financed, and directly organized by officials of the United States diplomatic offices in Czechoslovakia.

On October 10, 1951, the United States Government declared in the so-called Mutual Security Act that in the future it intended to carry on without any disguise its aggressive hostile activities which violate the fundamental standards of international law and all the rules of international relations. This law is designed to transform the territory of countries dependent on the United States into armed bases for the aggressive plans of the United States foreign policy. Its significance was characterized by Representative Smith of Wisconsin, who said:

"For six years our foreign policy has been to buy our way to world power and prestige. Having failed in that approach, we now prepare to shoot our way to that position."

As a means to achieve that purpose Congressman Kersten of Wisconsin proposed to include a provision into the law, which would allocate 100 million dollars to finance hostile activities against Czechoslovakia and other countries listed in the Act by sending escaped traitors to organize armed terrorist bands within the territory of those countries. Congressman Kersten himself confirmed the meaning of that provision by stating that the proposed amount was to serve first of all the creation of organized terror.

The United States Congress adopted the Kersten Amendment, the President of the United States signed it, and the United States Government has been implementing it. Together with the so-called Mutual Security Act it has been extended to cover also the year 1952-53.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its notes No. 150.004 of December 7, 1951, and No. 153.532 of February 8, 1952, protested against this Act which made terror a law. The United States has thus violated not only its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations Organization which binds all its members to abstain in their international relations from the use of force, to settle their disputes by peaceful means, and not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other states, but all the fundamental rules of peaceful coexistence of nations as well. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its notes pointed out that



the so-called Mutual Security Act was nothing but an open declaration of the policies which the United States Government in a long series of hostile acts and attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of Czechoslovakia had in fact been carrying out already in the past, particularly since the time when in February 1948 the Czechoslovak people decisively defeated the attempt to transform Czechoslovakia into a willing instrument of the aggressive plans of the United States and foiled the coup which was to restore the domination of international monopolies over the economy, as well as the political life of Czechoslovakia. This policy of the United States has demonstrated itself in the sending of spies, saboteurs, and killers, in the espionage activities of numerous officials of United States diplomatic offices in Czechoslovakia, in economic discrimination, in hostile and slanderous campaigns against Czechoslovakia, and in many other ways.

The Embassy of the United States of America answered the first of the mentioned notes evasively, and the second one, which contained a number of facts and data on the criminal activities of the captured and condemned American agents, it did not answer at all. This silence itself is a proof of the fact that the United States authorities could not—and cannot—disprove the serious charges made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because they have been irrefutably substantiated not only by the investigation of the Czechoslovak authorities, not only by confessions of many of the captured American agents and by verdicts of Czechoslovak courts but also by numerous statements of leading personalities of the United States, who do not in any way hide their intentions to strive by all means to overthrow the Government of Czechoslovakia.

In their attempts to achieve their aims the United States authorities have been using the most brutal methods and the services of the worst criminals, as, for example, shown in the recent case of the terrorist group "White Legion" which was led directly by the agent of the United States intelligence service, Josef Vican. Vican on one hand was directly associated with the American intelligence organs in Austria, whom he supplied with material on Czechoslovak armed forces, gained through the "White Legion," and on the other hand he is a member of the so-called "National Committee for the Liberation of Slovakia" which is headed by Stefan Krajcovic. Krajcovic publicly admitted that he was employed by United States military authorities on whose orders he had gone to the United States, and that the headquarters of the espionage organization which directed the "White Legion" were in Washington. In addition to that Krajcovic closely cooperates with Congressman Kersten who in 1951 arranged a press conference for him directly in the building of the House of Representatives.

According to the statements of the members of this criminal organization themselves, its task was to disturb and obstruct the economic development of Czechoslovakia by arson and murder, to carry out sabotage of important communication lines, particularly of railroads, and to supply the American espionage center in Vienna with information on the location of units of the Czechoslovak armed forces. In carrying out their activities the members of the "White Legion" murdered three persons and

have been attempting to commit a number of other murders; among them they tried to murder the whole family of a gamekeeper under whose house they planted a big charge of explosives for the sole reason that he supported the establishment of a Unified Agricultural Cooperative.

Another example of what kind of people the United States intelligence service has been using against Czechoslovakia is the case of Josef Latal. Latal, a professional criminal, fifteen times convicted for theft and sexual offenses, escaped to Western Germany where he committed another theft. An American military court sentenced him to 20-months imprisonment. After having served his prison term he was recruited by the American Intelligence service and sent to Czechoslovakia with instructions to supply information on airfields, types of aircraft, military objects, et cetera.

These cases clearly show how the United States authorities have been conducting their hostile activities against Czechoslovakia. They are directing the activities of their criminal agents from the United States occupation zone in Germany and Austria, which at the same time they are transforming into military bases for an aggressive war. The spies, saboteurs, and killers, whom the United States authorities use against the Czechoslovak people, serve the same policies as the Nazi generals and other war criminals who are being released from prison to carry out in pay of the United States Government the remilitarization of Western Germany. They serve the aggressive policies of the United States Government whose major instrument is the North Atlantic war pact and whose main objective is the unleashing of a new world war.

This policy is meeting with a constantly growing resistance of the people also in those countries whose governments depend on the Government of the United States for their existence. The people of Czechoslovakia, the same as the people of other democratic and peace-loving countries, work on the development of their country with the firm conviction that it is such work as they are doing which serves best the interests of world peace. At the same time they are determined to expose and check anyone who would want to disturb and threaten this peaceful development, be it by open aggression or by terrorism.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic true to its duty as the representative of the will of the Czechoslovak people, through its security organs exposes those who carry on their criminal activities on Czechoslovak territory and brings them to court to be justly punished. The same duty commands it to defend in the name of the people their interests against those who use the services of criminals to achieve their aggressive aims.

For these reasons the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic most resolutely protests against the activities of the United States authorities who organize and direct espionage and terrorist activities on the territory of Czechoslovakia, as again proved in the cases of the "White Legion" and of the agents who murdered Karel Jugl and Frantisek Mika.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the United States the assurance of its consideration.

## Education for Living in a World Community

by Howland H. Sargeant

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs<sup>1</sup>

### Telegraphic text

For several days now we have listened to an interesting and stimulating debate. Without exception, those participating in the debate have expressed appreciation of the Director General's report and the speech with which he introduced it. I should like to join with all those who have spoken before me. We owe the Director General a deep debt of gratitude for an excellent report and an outstanding introductory statement to the Conference which we hope will set a high level for all our deliberations.

The Director General spoke of the progress achieved by UNESCO. That progress is marked and real and we rejoice with him over it. UNESCO is a vital, a living organization. It must remain so and grow in influence and power. There is nothing static about it and nothing unchangeable except our determination to have it succeed, to make it an ever more effective instrument of our common quest for mutual understanding; the improvement of the conditions of living of our peoples; and the establishment of a world order within which we shall all be able to enjoy a secure peace.

Unfortunately the world in which we live today is not a peaceful world. Some progress has been made through the last 2 years to check wanton aggression, but our peace is far from secure. Political tensions have increased rather than decreased, and divisive forces are at work which threaten peace and progress within a large number of countries and in their relations with each other.

The recent report of the United Nations on world social conditions shows how far we are from having attained standards that even approximate the basic needs of hundreds of millions of people in many parts of the world. It reveals that much

progress has been made in improving health and education but that the rate of progress in the various countries has differed widely, with the result that the differences between highly developed and less developed countries have increased rather than diminished.

The age of fatalistic acceptance of misery and want is passed. Even in remote and underdeveloped parts of the world we witness a revolution of rising expectations. Even in those parts the poor and the hungry and the sick, illiterate as most of them are, are realizing how futile and unnecessary are their sufferings. They either clearly see or dimly perceive that modern technology, better social organization can put an end to their misery—that a better, fuller life is within their grasp. And as they reach for that life, there frequently develops conflict between the old and the new. Internal tensions and conflicts have a tendency to carry over into the international field, endangering international stability and the peaceful evolution of orderly international relations.

This is all the more true since the strains and stresses of our age are accentuated and exploited by men of ill will who are attempting to set man against man and nation against nation in order to establish their own ruthless rule.

It is a tragic fact that the tensions thus created, the distrust among individuals and nations, interfere with the realization of some of the main objectives of UNESCO, which if attained would help to lessen existing tensions and contribute to the fuller life. Cultural exchanges are impeded; ever new obstacles are raised to the free flow of information; and mutual understanding suffers—that understanding without which we cannot hope to achieve a peaceful world with better living conditions for all people.

This, then, is the world in which we live—a world divided against itself in which the forces of darkness and of light are locked in a heroic struggle. It is a world holding out a challenge to

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the seventh General Conference of UNESCO at Paris on Nov. 17. Mr. Sargeant is chairman of the U. S. delegation.

UNESCO which staggers the imagination, as the delegate from Ecuador so eloquently told us in emphasizing the moral and spiritual basis of law.

Let me define this challenge in terms of what UNESCO can do to answer the fervent prayer of men and women everywhere that there be peace and an opportunity for a fuller life for all. UNESCO can stimulate the creative energies of man.

#### **A Climate of Opinion for Scientists and Artists**

First of all, we are far from having reached an adequate understanding of the basic forces and factors in human relations which mold our destinies. It is one of the great tasks of UNESCO to promote such understanding through the stimulation of research and study. We need to secure the collaboration of the best minds of our generation to gain a full comprehension of these forces and factors, whether they be ideological, political, economic, cultural, social, or other. We must face squarely not only those elements in the contemporary scene which make for greater unity but also those which make for strife and conflict. Here we must assign a large place to the work of the social sciences.

In this context, continued, concentrated attention must be given also to the contributions which the natural sciences have to make to the well-being of mankind. It is gratifying that emphasis is being placed in the program before us on "research to improve the living conditions of mankind." Applied sciences and technology are urgently needed in many areas of the world where food and health still are among the most acute primary wants of millions of people. The U. S. delegation believes that humanitarian principles should determine where UNESCO's major effort should be concentrated in the field of scientific exploration. It believes that the natural and engineering sciences have the obligation to serve society as directly and effectively as possible.

Basic science is important because future programs require that curiosity be encouraged and that basic principles be formulated as a foundation for future procedures in solving the problems of a continually changing world. The basic and applied sciences are not mutually exclusive but mutually complementary. To attain the best balance between them within the framework of UNESCO's activities will require continual vigilance and study.

Related to this problem of how best to develop the sciences as a tool of human progress is the need of gaining a better understanding of the impact of technology and industrialization upon the lives, habits, and institutions of our peoples and their relations to each other. We are encouraged to see that UNESCO is paying increasing attention to this complex of problems, which was recognized last summer by the Economic and Social Council as deserving high priority consideration.

(Parenthetically, I should like to suggest that, as we redouble our efforts to stimulate research and study best designed to give us an understanding of the most important contemporary problems and the means of meeting them, we must take care to avoid over-organization. My delegation is not opposed in principle to the creation of new organizations or institutes, but we feel that what might be called the "institutional approach" has certain dangers. Our limited efforts and resources might be expended on the creation of new institutions where greater and more immediate results might be achieved through the stimulation and use of existing institutions and facilities. The creation of new organizations and new councils and new institutions and new buildings is not necessarily the best way to encourage free inquiry, to stimulate human inventiveness, and to make use of existing knowledge.)

This holds true also in the encouragement of the arts which enrich our lives and which we cherish above all in our heritage. In the creative arts, less than in any other field, can the human spirit be regimented and organized. What we can do, however, what we must do, is to help create the conditions—the climate of opinion—which will enable the artist and the thinker to give freely to the world of his God-given genius. And we must assure easy, workable ways for exchange of ideas which will benefit the individual artist as they will benefit all of us in a fuller sharing in the cultural riches of our world. It seems to me that the creative artist throughout history often comes closest to answering the description given in these lines from Maxwell Anderson's play *Valley Forge*:

There are some men who lift the level of the age they inhabit, until all men stand on higher ground in that lifetime.

UNESCO can help man use better what man has created.

If the stimulation of the creative energies of man is one of the primary tasks of UNESCO, the application of the fruits of such creativeness is another. Here again we are facing a number of basic and all-important tasks.

#### **Promoting Fundamental Education**

There is little hope for the future of the world as long as more than half of the population of the world remains illiterate and as long as the opportunity to enjoy and to participate in the cultural, scientific, and educational life of mankind is limited to elite groups in many lands.

Through the promotion of fundamental education, UNESCO has sought to lay the foundation for the progressive raising of standards of human existence. Fundamental education will help create the will and ability of people themselves to cope with the problems they face in the communities, in the villages, in the cities, and in the nations



where they live. This is one of the great challenges to UNESCO that the delegate of India described so vividly in his remarks. Fundamental education is much more, therefore, than a smattering of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Because its purpose is broad, it uses the wide variety of educational, scientific, and cultural resources which comprise UNESCO. And it calls for the closest collaboration with the other specialized agencies of the United Nations. To this problem of coordination, the delegate from Afghanistan made special reference in his address.

While a great concentration of effort is required to provide tangible help in fundamental education, there is room still for greater effort to bring the riches of education, science, and culture to larger bodies of people. Through programs of popularization of science, through the development of museums as educational institutions, and through other means, opportunities for fuller participation in the cultural, scientific, and educational life of our civilization must continually be encouraged.

This, however, is not enough. As is well known to everyone in this Conference, the Government and the people of the United States attach paramount importance to what, in the program before us, has been called "education for living in a world community." This concept is so important, as we see it, and has such broad implications for UNESCO's objectives as a whole that it deserves a special word of comment.

Education for living in a world community can mean in one sense a program as wide as UNESCO itself. In this sense it means the promotion of the teaching of the sciences which will enable man to gain a better control of his environment, to assure economic and social progress, and promote higher standards of living. In so doing, we make our contribution in the struggle against misery, want, and premature death.

Education for living in a world community in this broad sense, furthermore, means extending the observance of fundamental human rights which assert the dignity of the individual and set him free. In this we shall give the best answer to discrimination of any kind. It is the answer to bigotry, to ill-founded racial pride, and to the false prophets of authoritarianism and dictatorial regimes.

In my earlier address to this Conference,<sup>2</sup> I expressed the belief that our mission at this General Conference must be to continue a relentless search to find better ways to educate people to live as citizens of sovereign states in a community of all mankind, preserving the values of diverse cultures and the rights and responsibilities of national citizenships.

In the program before us a beginning has been made to identify a more precise objective to which

all disciplines can contribute and upon which several work plans can be centered. In the education chapter, a few activities are focused directly upon this concept for living in a world community.

It is my hope that as we undertake a more detailed examination of the program, we will make a particular effort to find in each chapter those work plans which contribute directly to this vital concept.

Such a more precise program should aim, in our judgment, to provide people with knowledge of those elements in our society which make for cooperation and unity as well as knowledge of the diverse forces which disturb international relations and jeopardize peace. More needs to be done to spread an understanding of the great aspirations for a world order which, within our generation, have found expression in the creation of the United Nations and the various specialized agencies as well as of other international organizations through which we are trying to cooperate in a common effort to improve our conditions of life and to secure peace.

The engagements we have entered into as member states of these international organizations have force only insofar as they are actively and effectively understood and supported by men, women, and children throughout our lands. They can be effective only insofar as this knowledge also makes clear the implication of engagements for individual and national conduct.

As we promote education about the ideas and ideals of the United Nations and the means at their disposal—from technical assistance to collective security—we shall help to create a sense of responsibility to international cooperation without which the United Nations cannot hope to succeed.

This understanding of the heroic efforts for peace and well-being made by the United Nations and the organizations and agencies cooperating with it, has to be supplemented through education for a better appreciation of differences in national attitudes. A vital, creative world community can be established only on the basis of a full recognition of the diversity of our several national heritages. Unity without such diversity means sterility.

One thing I would like to point out has already been said by implication. There are many parts of UNESCO's program outside the education chapter which could be identified as contributing to education for living in a world community. Once agreement has been reached in the General Conference on those projects and methods of work best calculated to advance this concept during the next 2 years, I am confident the Director General will assure that all necessary administrative steps are taken to relate each part of this effort, in whatever chapter or organizational unit it is found, to all of the others. If this can be done, I believe we may return to our homes assured that UNESCO will provide that vital spark

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Nov. 24, 1952, p. 831.

necessary to light the fires of cooperation in each of our own countries.

One last comment about this concept: I want to point out emphatically that our efforts to develop this world community in no way infringe on the relationship between a citizen and his own government. On the contrary, in an interdependent world the recognition of the need for international cooperation is an essential safeguard for the fullest possible development of the several national states and countries which are the strength and the glory of any world community of democratic peoples living their own lives in freedom and contributing voluntarily to the greatness and well-being of all. What are the ways and means UNESCO can employ?

There is a third aspect of the work of UNESCO which deserves special mention. To stimulate research and study and to disseminate available knowledge for purposes of achieving a fuller life, free from fear and from want, requires a most judicious use of the means and methods at our disposal. Our resources are limited and will remain limited as long as we cannot prove to all the effectiveness of our endeavors in terms of improved conditions of living. This means that we have to scrutinize continuously our work plans. We must have the courage to lay aside methods and projects which can be replaced by other methods and other projects more likely to assure the greatest benefits to the greatest numbers in the immediate future or over a long period.

#### **More Effective Use of Technical Assistance**

Among the most effective means so far discovered are the various methods of technical assistance through which the knowledge and technical achievements of the fully developed countries can be shared with the peoples of the less developed countries, which are at present going through the revolution of rising expectations of which I have spoken. The importance of this program to their countries has been underlined by many delegations during recent days.

Through technical assistance, it has become possible to telescope into a few years what it has taken some of the really developed countries hundreds of years to achieve. My Government stands ready to support programs of technical assistance provided they serve the interests of the many rather than the few.

The record shows that we have not taken full advantage of the opportunities offered by these programs. This is not the fault of our Secretariat which, by and large, has done an outstanding job in developing technical-assistance programs where it was asked to do so. But the various member states have been slow in requesting such assistance, particularly in such fields as the fight against illiteracy and the extension of fundamental education. As a result, UNESCO has not been able to lay

claim to all of the funds which might have been made available to it under the expanded program of technical assistance of the United Nations. There will be a large carry-over in the special technical-assistance account of the United Nations at the end of this year. Substantially increased funds should be available in 1953.

Thus, at a time when we find it difficult to reach agreement over a few hundred thousand dollars in the regular budget of UNESCO, we are not using much larger resources within our reach. This is a paradoxical situation which, if resolved, should greatly facilitate our budget discussions. My Government, for one, will support the maintenance of the special UN fund of technical assistance at a level which should permit UNESCO to draw from this fund in 1953 the amount necessary to finance its proposed program of about \$5,500,000 above and beyond our regular budget, and close to \$2,000,000 more than this year.

After all I have said, I do not need to tell you of our deep and abiding interest in UNESCO. Our one concern is that its labors and limited resources shall be applied where the most significant results can be obtained, significant in terms of the problems that face mankind at this stage of our history. It means recognizing urgency in point of time and in point of possible results. It means doing what is most important and what UNESCO particularly can best do. It means doing these things which will help the greatest number of mankind in achieving the aspiration of a good life, lived as a good neighbor, and made possible by a sound prospect of an enduring peace.

It is with this in mind that my delegation has proposed that the Programme Commission set up a working party on priorities, which we ourselves suggested should be renamed a Working Party on Future Program and Development. We suggested this change in order to avoid any possible misunderstandings. We do not propose that this working party should reshape our program for the next 2 years. To review these programs is the exclusive task of our Programme Commission. Nor is the working party intended to deal with budgetary issues. We do expect it, however, to develop a comprehensive resolution or statement, or both, indicating which activities of UNESCO, in the light of contemporary and developing needs and in contrast with other UNESCO activities, warrant special consideration and intensification of effort. We were impressed, as I am sure you were, by the persuasive remarks on the future development of UNESCO's program by the delegate of Sweden. And we do hope that the Conference will agree that such statement or resolution should serve as a guide to the Director General and the Executive Board in the execution of the 1953 and the 1954 programs and the planning and drafting of the programs for 1955 and 1956.

Let me conclude by looking beyond this hall and

beyond the short space of time during which we shall be together in this beautiful city of Paris. Our Director General, in a brilliant formulation of an essential truth, warned us against "a surfeit of international resolutions" not matched by the "national resolution in each country to put them into effect." Whatever we do here will remain barren unless it can be translated into action by ourselves, by our national commissions, by our governments in our respective countries. This means an obligation rests upon member states to develop national commissions—and I was happy to hear the leader of the Australian delegation speak of the key role they have to play, but it also

obligates this General Conference to pass resolutions with self-restraint.

In my own country the interest of the American people and their will to cooperate in the great work of Unesco is reflected in the vigorous labors of our national commission, which is representative of what is best in American life, of intellectual and religious leaders, of artists and scholars, of workers and employers, of men and women in all walks of life.

I speak for them, I speak for the American people when I assure you that we shall do everything in our power to help in laying the foundations of a lasting peace.

## Japan and Free Asia

*by John M. Allison*

*Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs<sup>1</sup>*

It is with great pleasure and pride that I appear before you today. Just a little more than 25 years ago I first came to Japan, and from the very beginning I attended functions of the American-Japan Society. I recall that it was considered a great honor to be asked to address the Society, and it seemed to me that only men of great age and distinction were chosen. With the passing of time I am beginning to be able to qualify as far as age is concerned. On the other count, I only thank you for permitting me to appear at the same table as have such illustrious men as Prince Tokugawa, Count Kabayama, and Joseph Grew.

When I first came to Japan your Diet had just passed the law providing for universal manhood suffrage, and a great step forward in modern democratic government had thus been taken. Since then there have been further advances as well as set-backs in the development of modern democratic institutions. However I believe that today the essential fundamentals have been established—you have not only universal manhood suffrage—but the women also vote—and not only vote but take an active part in political life. You have a free press, an essential safeguard of democratic institutions, and you have a Parliament which by

law can exercise greater power and be a truer representative of the people than was possible for your prewar Diet. These things are of great importance not only for Japan but for the rest of the world. It is probable that many of the detailed measures worked out during the occupation will change with time, but if the three fundamentals I have just mentioned remain—a vigorous electorate, a free press, and a responsible and responsive Diet—it will not be possible for a small military clique to rise as in the past and lead your Nation and the world once more into the horror of war. Those are the institutions which have made it possible for the United States, the United Kingdom, and other nations of the West to maintain internal freedom and democracy while still building up the powerful military might necessary in this uncertain age to defend that freedom.

Since my last visit to Tokyo just over a year ago the peace treaty has come into effect and Japan has plunged again into the stormy seas of world politics aligned on the side of the free nations. One of the choicest memories I shall have of my career in the American Foreign Service is the fact that I was privileged to play a part, under the inspiring leadership of John Foster Dulles, in bringing this peace treaty into being. This treaty broke new ground in the history of international

<sup>1</sup>Address made before the Japan-American Society at Tokyo on Nov. 1.



relations and is a milestone in the history of the relations between Asia and the West. As Sir Zafullah Khan, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Pakistan, said at the peace conference in San Francisco:

It opens to Japan the door passing through which it may take up among its fellow sovereign nations a position of dignity, honor and equality. . . . It is evidence of a new departure in the relations of the East and West as they have subsisted during the last few centuries.

Let us all resolve that the high purpose with which the treaty was signed not be forgotten.

#### **Improved Conditions in Southeast Asia**

During the past few weeks I have visited the free nations of Southeast Asia as well as Free China, and I have had an opportunity to learn something of what they think about the new Japan that has come into being since the war and that has now, through the peace treaty, regained its sovereignty. It may perhaps be of interest to you to hear briefly some of the things I heard and consider with me for a while the future of Japan and these other nations of Free Asia.

Since the end of September I have visited and talked to Government and private leaders in Manila, Saigon, Phnom Penh, Bangkok, Rangoon, Djakarta, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Taiwan. The peoples of each of these places are faced with different problems and different conditions, but there is one problem which is common to all of them in greater or lesser degree—that is the Communist-inspired and often Communist-led subversive activities and in some cases, such as Indochina, outright hostilities on a large scale.

This Communist aggression in Asia which has been most evident in Korea is not a new thing nor is it likely to diminish in the near future. As you all know, Stalin has said that the road to victory for communism in the West is through the East. It was almost 30 years ago that this statement was made but less than one year ago, in December of last year, that the Communist interest and aims in the Far East were again made clear in an article in the Moscow University *Herald*. This article, which was on the lessons of China for the revolution, set forth a 7-point program for Communist conquest. It followed the expected line of advocating the incitement of nationalism, then the promotion of a "united front" and the other intermediate steps until, as point 5 says, "the Communist Party takes complete control, ousting the others." But point 6 in this blueprint of revolution is even more interesting. It says:

Remember that true national independence can be achieved only in unity with the Soviet Union. There is no third, middle or neutral road.

It is the Communists themselves who say there is no room for coexistence.

It is against this background of Communist aggression that we must consider the position of Japan and Free Asia.

I have completed my tour in the countries of Southeast Asia and Free China with a feeling of what I call "cautious optimism." I have definitely been encouraged by what I have seen, and I can assure you that conditions in these countries to the South are better than they were a year ago.

My encouragement has been due chiefly to two factors. In the first place, in all of the nations I have visited in Southeast Asia there has been a decided improvement in internal stability and in the general prosperity of the country. This has been especially true in Burma. Just a little over 1 year ago it was impossible to travel in Burma very far from the capital, Rangoon. Today, while there are still subversive elements holding large areas of the country, it is nevertheless possible to travel in country districts far away from the capital. The armed forces of Burma are making real progress in liquidating Communist-inspired subversive movements in their country. In Malaya, the Government forces have for the first time begun to get the better of the Communist guerrillas. In Indonesia, the large island of Sumatra with its important oil refineries is almost free of disorder, and the Indonesian Government is making steady progress against the insurgents who are now chiefly active in west central Java. In the Philippines, Secretary of Defense Magsaysay has broken the back of the Huk movement there. Whereas about 1 year ago it was dangerous to go far from Manila, today such is not the case.

In all these areas the military action which is eliminating the threats of violence has made possible improvements in political, economic, and social conditions. The Governments of these countries are aware that if they do not take steps to improve radically the political, and economic, and social condition of their peoples, the military victories will not be long standing. General Sir Gerald Templer, the British High Commissioner in Malaya, told me that in that country the battle was only 25 percent military—that 75 percent of the battle was creating proper conditions in the political and economic field so that the people of Malaya would realize that they had a real stake in the Government and that it was working in their interest. About the same proportion is true in all the other countries I have visited, and the fact that the leaders of these countries are aware of this is definitely cause for encouragement.

The second factor is the growing understanding between leaders of these countries of the true menace of Chinese communism in this part of the world. When the Chinese Communists first came to power, there were many who welcomed them as being more representative of the Chinese people than the Nationalist Government. Today leaders of Southeast Asia, as well as elsewhere, realize, I

believe, that the Chinese Communists, like Communists everywhere, are false prophets, and have turned their backs on the finest traditions of China.

The increasing strength of these countries, together with their growing awareness of the Communist menace, gives us reason to hope that these free nations of Asia will eventually be able to stand on their own feet and contribute to the general cause of peace and prosperity in this part of the world.

Most of these countries have but recently obtained independence, and they naturally are primarily concerned with building up their own strength and not becoming embroiled in adventures abroad. In this process of getting strong, they naturally are concerned with what road Japan is going to follow during the coming year. The scars of the last war still remain, and there is reluctance among some of the people to see Japan again become strong. However, the leaders of these countries recognize the necessity of having Japan cooperate with them in strengthening the fabric of peace in the Pacific. From questions they asked me it was evident that their concern with Japan centers upon two points. While, as I said, recognizing the necessity of Japan's playing its part, they worry lest Japan get in a position to dominate them again either militarily or economically. There is, therefore, necessity for Japan and the Japanese people to reassure the peoples of Southeast Asia by their actions that there is, in fact, a new Japan which does not intend to follow the patterns which previously led to destruction.

In several of the countries I met Japanese consular and trade officials who had but recently arrived, and I was glad to note that they were making friends for Japan and were gradually gaining an acceptance of new Japan among the peoples with whom they worked.

### **The Reparations Problem**

One of the most complicated problems which vexes the relationships between Japan and these countries to the South is the question of reparations. This is a matter upon which only experts should speak, and I have no intention of making any specific proposals as to how this question should be solved. However, I firmly believe that Japan has much to gain and but little to lose if it will make some concrete proposal to the peoples of the South looking toward payment in some form of reasonable reparations in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace. I do not believe that any responsible official in any of these Governments expects Japan to pay fantastic sums, as it is generally recognized that this is out of the question, but I do believe that until some settlement of this problem is reached which is acceptable to the countries invaded by Japan that it will be difficult for Japanese commerce and industry

to play the vital part it must in that part of the world if Japan is to become more nearly self-supporting.

If Japan can solve this reparations problem, and if by the action of its businessmen and officials abroad it can show that it seeks no special privileges and that it intends to live up to the generally accepted standards of fair trade, I can see no reason why there should not be a prosperous future of economic cooperation between Japan and Southeast Asia. The United States will do what it can to encourage the development, for it is in the American interest to see the development of strong, prosperous, independent, and enlightened Asiatic States. Mutual cooperation to build economic strength will help create the power to withstand the siren call of the Communists, which is often so tempting to persons discouraged by economic chaos.

But unfortunately it is not enough just to build economic and social strength. The aggressors often do not give time for such strength to be created.

### **Korean Example of Soviet Aggression**

I have just returned from Korea, a country which well illustrates the point I am trying to make. In early 1950 the Republic of Korea was making long strides toward political and economic stability. But the vicious attack which struck from the North on June 25, 1950, not only undid much of the progress so laboriously achieved in Korea but also threatened the peace of the entire world.

This threat to the free world has not receded with time. The relentless pressure which the Communists have continued to bring to bear in Korea, together with their stubborn unwillingness at the conference table even to consider any just solution, clearly shows that the Communists powers have not deviated from their original plan of conquest.

Japan has made impressive progress in the past few years toward creating conditions of economic stability and toward identifying and resisting those who would overthrow political, economic, and social institutions of this country. But the example of Korea shows that a nation cannot be confident of its own safety and stability while powerful forces of aggression and imperialistic expansion are pressing upon its very borders. The Communists have not abandoned their aggression in Korea. They have not abandoned their desire to seize power in Japan. Soviet aircraft increasingly carry out hostile operations over the Habomai Islands and Hokkaido, which are Japanese territory not in any way affected by the peace treaty. The plotting of Japanese Communists at home and abroad to overthrow your Government and our form of society will not cease, even though the tactics they follow may vary from time to time.

Last May the Communists in Japan resorted to large-scale violence to test the strength and determination of the newly independent Japanese Government. I was glad to see that the Japanese authorities effectively met and put down this violence and that they acted vigorously to punish the offenders. I was also pleased to note the results of the recent election, in which the people of Japan showed their strong distaste for Communist violence by voting out all Communist representation in the House of Representatives.

For some time after the last war, the United States hoped that the Government of the Soviet Union meant what it said about wanting to live in peace and harmony with the rest of the world. No one can say that the United States has not been patient; in fact, we have probably been too patient. But hatred of war is ingrained in the American people. We have shown, I believe, that our purposes are just and that our aims are honorable. But we have seen no reciprocal gestures from the Soviet Union. We have learned from countless examples that the Soviets seek to exploit any weakness in their neighbors, and that the only language which they understand is the language of force.

#### **Strengthening the Free World's Defenses**

We have therefore embarked on the creation of strong forces in our country. We have taken the lead in working for the development of a European community of nations, which have joined together their individual forces for mutual defense and for the preservation of free institutions. The Vandenberg Resolution approved by the United States Congress in 1948 declared as our policy that the United States looks with favor on the creation of collective security arrangements within the scope of the U.N. Charter and on the basis of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid. In the Far East there has as yet been no such general grouping of nations determined to protect their freedom by joint action. However, at the time of the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, the United States entered into three security pacts which, as President Truman then said, constituted "initial steps" in the development of an overall security system for the Pacific area. These pacts were the Security Treaty with Australia and New Zealand, the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Philippines, and the Security Treaty with Japan.

#### **U.S.—Japanese Security Treaty**

Because of the Security Treaty with the United States and the presence in Japan by its terms of U.S. forces, Japan has been largely free from the open Communist pressures so often seen in other areas. The U.N. effort in Korea shields Japan from direct attack—in fact, there is reason to believe that the initial Communist aggression in Korea was at least in part due to the unarmed

condition of Japan and the belief of the aggressors that domination of the Korean Peninsula would make more easy the ultimate domination of Japan with its great industrial base and its industrially trained population.

The presence of these American troops creates many problems, but it also offers us an opportunity. If we can prove that the United States and Japan can cooperate as partners in this enterprise with the rights of both peoples being equally respected, we will do much to undercut the Communist propaganda which says that nations of the East and West cannot work together and that the West is in the East only to dominate and rule. But naturally it is sometimes difficult for all Japanese to understand why there must still be American troops in Japan—while still other Japanese express the fear that the United States is not committed to the defense of Japan and may at any time pull out and leave Japan helpless. I can assure you that the United States is fully cognizant of its responsibilities and its rights under the Security Treaty. On the one hand it has no intention of attempting to dominate Japan or treat her as a junior partner—we shall deal with you as equals in all things. On the other hand, the United States has no intention of withdrawing its forces and leaving Japan exposed just a few miles from active Communist aggression on the mainland. But I believe it important to recall to your mind the words of the preamble to the Security Treaty—it says:

The United States in the interest of peace and security is presently willing to maintain certain of its armed forces in and around Japan, in the expectation, however, that Japan will itself increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense against direct and indirect aggression. . . .

We in the United States have full confidence in the ability of Japan to carry out this responsibility. We are confident that the Japanese spirit of self-reliance and self-respect will move the nation forward in this program. We also believe that the time has come when a beginning must be made in developing the ability of Japan to defend itself.

This ability of Japan to defend itself against internal and external aggression would in itself constitute a real contribution to the security of the Pacific area, just as ability to defend themselves on the part of Indochina, Thailand, the Philippines, and other nations is a contribution to the security of the region.

In this way a firm structure of peace in the Pacific may gradually—but we hope not too gradually—be established and broadened. There need be no fear that stronger defense measures by Japan will lead to war. On the contrary, such measures will make it possible for Japan to join with other free nations in a common front which will reduce the threat of war by making would-be aggressors realize they cannot succeed. This I



think is the justification for stronger defense measures by Japan.

I should like to emphasize most strongly that the purpose of collective-security arrangements is not to provoke or stimulate military action but to deter any would-be attacker. The purpose of collective security is not to bring war but to avoid war. This goal is, in my opinion, being successfully realized in Europe. It is my hope that such collective action may increasingly become possible and effective in this part of the world and that Japan will be able to play her proper role in this endeavor. I know that some of you have reservations about reviving armed forces within Japan. You learned by bitter experience that military forces not subject to proper civilian control can destroy the very institutions they were established to protect. But I ask you to have confidence in your own institutions and in your own abilities. As I said in the beginning, as long as Japan continues to maintain free elections open to all, a free press, and a representative and responsible Parliament—you can be confident that the necessary military forces will be your servant, not your master. The economic burden of defense measures is a painful one but one which we have all found necessary to bear—I am confident that the industry and integrity of the Japanese people will, if given proper scope, be able to meet this problem as time goes by.

Japan has been giving great assistance to the United Nations by making available facilities and services to the U.N. Forces participating in the Korean operation. This cooperation has been most valuable and is greatly appreciated. I know I speak for the U.N. Forces when I say it is our hope that Japan will continue this assistance. And I wish to point out that your making available these facilities and services in the interest of the U.N. effort has been repaid by an enormous contribution to the security of Japan in shielding your country from attack.

Let me emphasize one other point. Japan is a free country. Japan is free to make its own decisions as to defense and to participation in collective arrangements. I have tried to outline the considerations that seem important to my Government, as well as to describe some pertinent observations from my recent trip. But the great and fateful decisions which must soon be made and which may decide the fate of this country in a world divided between free and slave, between dictatorship and democracy, between self-rule or Kremlin rule must be made by the people and Government of Japan.

In making this decision, may I ask you to keep in mind this brief quotation from a recent book published in America:

The central objective has to be somehow to keep the thread of civilization alive—to avert war, if possible, because war is the second greatest threat to civilized survival; but to be prepared for war, if necessary, because the greatest threat of all is totalitarian victory.

## Rejection of Charges Made by Soviet Official in Berlin

### Tripartite Letter of November 3

Press release 887 dated November 3

*The U.S., U.K., and French High Commissioners for Germany on November 3 replied to complaints made on October 1 by General Vassily I. Chuikov, Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Occupation Forces in Berlin. Following is the text of U.S. High Commissioner Walter J. Donnelly's letter:*

In your letter of October 1 you felt obliged to inform me that in recent months disorders have occurred in the Soviet zone. You attribute the blame for these occurrences to the activities of organizations in Western Berlin which, for the purpose of your argument, you describe as centers of espionage and sabotage and which, you maintain, indulge in criminal activities directed against the population of Eastern Berlin and the Soviet zone. I reject these charges, which are baseless and a travesty of the facts.

The organizations which you mention have, with the exception of RIAS, been voluntarily formed by Germans who have the interest of the German people at heart. So far from committing any crimes against the German people of the Soviet zone, these organizations are concerned only with giving help to the refugees from this zone who, in increasing numbers, flee from persecution; to assemble and disseminate evidence about illegal measures and violation of the rights of man, of which so many Germans in the Eastern zone are victims; and to tell them the truth about the free world from which they are separated.

As regards RIAS, the radio in the American sector of Berlin, you may recall that the organization was established under the direction of American personnel in 1946 after the Soviet authorities, in violation of the principle of Four Power cooperation in Berlin, refused to allow any but Soviet influence in radio Berlin. Your allegations that RIAS is a center of espionage and sabotage are without foundation. On the contrary, RIAS fulfills a much needed function in providing factual information not otherwise available in Eastern Germany and it will continue to do so.

I will not enter into the diverse accusations which you make on the basis of the evidence provided by various "court trials" in the Soviet zone. Public opinion throughout the world is only too well informed of the methods whereby so-called "confessions" may be extracted from those who are accused by such "courts." Moreover these "courts" seem to have acquired the habit of describing as "crimes" acts which in democratic

countries are considered to be a normal part of daily life. For example, a person only has to express an opinion contrary to the Government in power or to repeat a piece of news which is already known but which the regime has an interest in suppressing for him to be described as a "spy" or "traitor." Such a perversion of the accepted meaning of words would be laughable were its consequences not so serious.

In your letter you refer to "forcible abduction of activities of people's enterprises to West Berlin where they, and the employees of the people's police, and members of the FdJ, were murdered." If there were any truth in this, I would condemn criminal activities of such a kind just as strongly as you do. But you do not cite any instances of abduction and murder. I, however, am in a position to cite instances of abductions from Western Berlin.

I should be obligated if you would give your urgent attention to the case of Dr. Linse who was abducted from Western Berlin on July 8,<sup>1</sup> and inform me when he will be returned to Western Berlin. Likewise, I should welcome information about "a certain Weiland" to whom you attribute one of the "confessions" made before a court in Greifswald on August 27, 1952. I assume this to be a resident of West Berlin named Weiland who was kidnaped from the American sector on November 11, 1950, and forcibly taken into the Soviet sector. Nothing has been heard of him since then until I received your letter. I should be glad to have full details about the circumstances of his arrest and an account of what has happened to him since his arrest.

I repeat that the activities of the organizations which you mention have no concern with spying, diversionism, or terror. These organizations would not be necessary and would cease to exist if basic human rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of movement, and freedom from arbitrary arrest existed in the Soviet zone and Eastern Berlin. Nor can their activities justify the measures taken since last May, at the instigation of the Soviet authorities, whereby the principal channels of communication between East and West Germany have been obstructed or curtailed. I take the opportunity of reminding you that I have not received a reply to Mr. McCloy's letter of June 30<sup>2</sup> in which your attention was called to this serious matter. I cannot but conclude that the purpose of your letter was to attempt, by its many unfounded allegations, to provide a belated justification of these measures which hinder the reunification of Germany and which, as you are no doubt aware, have aroused widespread and fully justified indignation throughout Germany.

<sup>1</sup> For a statement relating to this case made by Johannes Stumm, Police President of West Berlin, see BULLETIN of Nov. 24, 1952, p. 823.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1952, p. 319.

## GENERAL CHUIKOV'S LETTER TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS, OCTOBER 1

[Telegraphic text]

It has come to our knowledge that on the territory of the American, British, as well as French sectors of Berlin there exist numerous espionage and diversionist centers which are carrying out criminally subversive activities, directed against the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Eastern sector of Berlin.

In the course of court trials undertaken recently in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Potsdam and other cities, against terrorist and diversionist bands seized in the act of committing criminal acts on GDR territory and in the Eastern sector of Berlin, it was established that these bands had been assigned tasks, given instructions, and the means for perpetuating diversionist acts, as well as a reward for criminal acts committed by them, by West Berlin espionage-diversionist organizations masquerading under hypocritical names, such as "Fighting Group Against Inhumanity," "Committee of Free Jurists," "Association of Political Refugees From the East," "Eastern Bureau of the CPU," the editorial office of the *Telegraf*, and others.

It was established, on the basis of statements made by the defendants and witnesses, that the basic aim of these organizations is the perpetration of crimes designed to undermine the economy and peaceful construction processes in the German Democratic Republic, and to cause injury to the population of the Republic, including the murder of activists in the people's economy, mass poisoning of the population, arson and explosions directed against public institutions, diversionist acts in people's enterprises and transportation, the burning of arms and administrative buildings thereon.

During the trial of Hoesse, Metz, Gudelitz and Wentzel, which took place on May 13-14, 1952, in Berlin, it was disclosed that these persons, on instructions given them by the leaders of the so-called "fighting group against inhumanity," Hildebrandt and Tillich, had in the Eastern sector of Berlin set fire to stores, newspaper stands, raided the offices of democratic organizations, and forcibly abducted into West Berlin, and there murdered activists of people's enterprises, employees of the people's police, members of the Free German Youth. Hoesse and Metz had been acting according to a plan that envisaged a systematic perpetration of terrorist acts with a view to intimidating the population of the German Democratic Republic and the Eastern sector of Berlin.

During the trial that had taken place on May 23-24, 1952, versus Burianek and other criminals, it came to light that Burianek had been receiving from the leaders of the "fighting group against inhumanity"—Leeder (alias Beutz) and Rogler (alias Schleda)—criminal instructions, including one to set fire to the House of Culture in the center of Berlin, to mine the railroad bridge in the district of Erkner, at the very time when a passenger train was scheduled to cross it; to blow up the Klingenberg power station, etc.

In August 1952 a trial was carried out in Berlin involving a band of criminals headed by Kaiser and Mueller. It was disclosed during the proceedings that the Kaiser-Mueller band had been preparing a series of diversionist acts with the purpose of putting out of commission tons of important equipment belonging to the people's economy and the transportation system of the GDR. Thus, under Mueller's leadership a group of bandits was getting ready to blow up the lock on the Paretz-Nieder-Neuendorf Canal in order to bring about an inundation that would result in the destruction of populated localities and in the mass loss of life among the population.

According to the conclusion of experts, such a criminal act would have resulted in inundating 50,000 hectares of useful soil. In accordance with instructions from the leaders of the "fighting group against inhumanity," Tillich and Leeder, Kaiser had organized in Western Berlin the manufacture of bombs, of suitcases carrying explo-



sive material, incendiary ampoules, poisons, and other means for the purpose of committing terrorist and diversionist acts.

In July and August 1952, trials were instituted in Dresden, Halle, Potsdam and other cities of spies of the so-called "Committee of Free Jurists," which disclosed that this organization, which is enjoying the protection of the American authorities, had been systematically carrying out under the leadership of a certain Erdmann (alias Friedenau) acts of sabotage and diversion within factories of the GDR, planting its agents in the enterprises and Ministries of the Republic and, through them, collecting espionage information about the Republic's industries, as well as terrorizing the population by sending out threatening letters. [End of part one.]

Acting under the false name of "association of political refugees from the East," a band of criminals, including Kuentzel, Ehren, Gese, Wegelan and others, have since 1949 been trying stubbornly to create on GDR territory so-called "resistance groups" for the purpose of staging acts of sabotage and to gather espionage information. This very same Ehren is at the head of the West Berlin "Eastern bureau of Cdu," the most active leaders of which are Schwarze, Brechinger and Striewer. By setting up in GDR territory underground centers, the "Eastern bureau" assigns to them the task of sabotaging the peaceful construction in the Republic. Ehren is orienting his agency, in the event of a war, in the direction of carrying out terrorist acts en masse, and the physical destruction of activists and his country's patriots.

It has been established that a band of criminals from the editorial office from the West Berlin office of the *Telegraf*, particularly Nicke, Schloz, Kurz and others, are systematically and by means of intimidation and blackmail recruiting spies and diversionists among residents of the GDR, and are fabricating and distributing antidemocratic literature and pamphlets.

The radio-station RIAS, operating in Western Berlin, is in reality an important espionage-diversionist center. This radio station is giving special broadcasts which contain instructions to their agents concerning the staging of diversionist acts, sabotage and subversive activities.

To keep the criminal agency operating in GDR territory supplied, special enterprises manufacturing weapons used in carrying out diversionist and espionage acts have been established in West Berlin. Thus, at 106 Kurfuerstendamm there has been set up a laboratory for the making of "sympathetic" UNK<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of forwarding espionage information, of potent poisons, grenades, suitcases carrying explosive material and sulphuric acid—for putting machinery in the enterprises of the Republic out of commission—and other diversionist weapons. A similar establishment is located at 9 Kaiser-Wilhelm Str.

During the above-mentioned trials it was disclosed as a result of statements made by the defendants and witnesses that all these criminal organizations are being managed and financed by the American intelligence. They are also in close contact with British and French intelligence. At his trial in Berlin defendant Kaiser disclosed publicly that the Tillich-led section II B of the "fighting group against inhumanity" which is carrying out diversionist acts in GDR territory, was receiving from American sources a sum of 20,000 marks per month. The same Kaiser declared that he together with other "experts" had in November 1951 been carrying out tests with diversionist weapons at the U.S. firing grounds in Grunewald. A certain Weiland, who had acted on instructions issued by the American intelligence, declared at the court trial of August 27 in Greifswald that he had been turning over espionage information, including information of a military character, to the U.S. press officer in Western Berlin, M. Josselson.

It would be possible to enumerate additional facts,

<sup>1</sup> Text garbled.

equally eloquent, bearing on the activities directed against the GDR and the Eastern sector of Berlin, from West Berlin territory. All these facts are on hand with the general prosecutor of the Republic and most of them have been published in the press.

Taking note of your request, during our meeting on September 9, 1952, I am sending the addresses of the more prominent espionage-diversionist centers operating in West Berlin territory, particularly in the U.S. sector of Berlin: "Fighting group against inhumanity"—Ernststrasse 2-4; "committee of free jurists"—Limastrasse 29; the laboratory for the manufacture of terrorist and diversionist weapons, as well as the office of the "fighting group against inhumanity" up to February 1952—Kaiser-Wilhelm Str. 9 in Steglitz; in the British sector of Berlin: Section II B of the "fighting group against inhumanity," since February 1952, as well as the laboratory for the manufacture of diversionist and terrorist weapons—106 Kurfuerstendamm; "association of political refugees from the East"—Hohensollerndamm 81; "Eastern bureau of Cdu"—Reichsstrasse 4; editorial office of the *Telegraf*—Bismarckplatz 2.

From the foregoing it follows that Western Berlin has turned into a nest of espionage, diversionist and terrorist activities against the GDR and the Eastern sector of Berlin, a fact which gives rise to a feeling of resentment among the population which demands that decisive measures be taken in order to put an end to these criminal activities.

Despite the fact that the information concerning the above-mentioned crimes as well as the names of the organizers thereof had long been brought to the attention of the public, the U.S., British, as well as the French occupation authorities have up to now taken no steps to put an end to these criminal activities. The leaders of the criminal centers, particularly Hildebrandt and Friedenau, are playing a prominent role in the social life of West Berlin and are openly underscoring their close contact with the Western occupation authorities. On the pages of the press, under the control of the U.S., British and French authorities, the criminals are being openly defended. In particular, *Der Tagesspiegel*, a newspaper which stands close to the Commandant of the U.S. sector of Berlin, on August 29, 1952, published an article eulogizing Kaiser, written by Hildebrandt, as well as a picture of Kaiser, who had been preparing monstrous crimes against the GDR population and people's economy. In connection with court trials of the espionage and terrorist bands, carried out in the GDR, the West German press published cynical statements to the effect that, in view of the disclosures made, the West Berlin criminal organizations must "reorganize" their work.

The above-cited facts show that the U.S., British, as well as French occupation authorities, in Western Berlin, are aiding criminal activities whose purpose it is to inflict damage upon the population of the GDR and Eastern sector of Berlin and to undermine their economy. Such activities constitute a gross violation of the rights and obligations of the U.S., British, as well as French authorities in Berlin resulting from Four Power agreements, and are causing injury both to the population of the GDR, the immediate sufferer from the criminal activities of the above-mentioned bands, and to the population of Western Berlin inasmuch as the authorities of the GDR are compelled to take steps in protection against the penetration of West Berlin criminal elements into the Republic which also affects communications between the West Berlin population and the GDR as well as the Eastern sector of Berlin and serves to disturb the normal life of the West Berlin population.

I categorically demand the immediate closing of all the espionage-diversionist and terrorist centers located within the U.S., British and French sectors of Berlin, and the discontinuance of their criminal activities against the German Democratic Republic and the Eastern sector of Berlin.

Please inform us concerning the measures taken.



## Point Four Agreement With Burma

Press release 841 dated October 24

Frank N. Trager, Point Four Technical Director for Burma, and Hla Maung, Chairman of the Burma Economic Aid Committee, on October 24 completed a program agreement for the operation of Point Four in Burma during the fiscal year 1953. The agreement provides for the continuance of assistance initiated under the original Economic Cooperation Agreement signed by Burma and the United States on September 13, 1950. Hla Maung is in this country as a member of the Economic Mission headed by Burma's Minister of Labor and Housing, M. A. Raschid.

The new agreement provides for a contribution by the United States, through Point Four, of \$6,582,000 while the Government of Burma will contribute 35,000,000 kyats—the equivalent of about \$7,350,000. The American contribution is to defray costs of technicians, materials, and services from outside Burma and the Burmese sum will defray local costs of the projects covered by the agreement.

Last August, Burma announced the formulation of an 8- to 10-year development plan.<sup>1</sup> The agreement just concluded between Point Four and the Burma Economic Aid Committee provides for close coordination with Burma's own over-all plan. It calls for cooperation in projects in public health and sanitation, education, agricultural development, and other fields of activity related to the economic development of the Union of Burma.

Before World War II, Burma was known as the "rice bowl" of the Far East. Because of war damage and postwar insurgency, the production of rice fell off materially until it left an exportable surplus of less than half the prewar figure of 3,500,000 tons annually. This decline in production seriously reduced Burma's national income and presented serious problems to nations of the Far East normally dependent upon Burma for rice.

Efforts already are under way, through improved cultivation methods and the reclamation of farm land and irrigation systems, to bring the country back to its prewar prominence in the rice-export field. The new agreement will insure close cooperation between American and Burmese technicians to continue this campaign for more food.

Other important phases of the Burma plan and of the cooperative Point Four Burma program are health and sanitation project, including a malaria-control program to reduce the ravages of the disease which today affects almost half of Burma's population, and a broad and varied educational program, including the training of teachers for elementary and secondary education. Point Four technicians are cooperating with their Burmese

counterparts in each of these fields today in the continuation of the program initiated by the Economic Cooperation Administration (now the Mutual Security Agency). The volume of the present program in terms of dollars is smaller than the two preceding ones.

Program emphasis has changed, and is further changing, from one of an emergency-aid nature to a longer-term process, stressing technical assistance. The aim is to help make Burma economically self-sufficient by supplementing its own comprehensive plan for national rehabilitation and development.

## Agricultural Assistance to Iraq

Press release 883 dated November 20

The University of Arizona, under an agreement with the Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA), will assist in the development of the agricultural college at Abu Gheraib, Iraq, the Department of State announced on November 21.

The university will assume the responsibility of providing professors and teachers for agricultural courses, will furnish the necessary materials and equipment for carrying out the expanded program, and will advise in the selection of Iraqi students for postgraduate study at the University of Arizona. The work will be under the general direction of the Point Four mission in Iraq, with technical advice and cooperation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

President Richard A. Harvill of the University of Arizona announced in Tucson that the dean and director of the College of Agriculture, Phil S. Eckert, has departed for Iraq to discuss plans with officials of the Government and of the Point Four mission there.

The United States and Iraq signed a general Point Four agreement on April 10, 1951.<sup>1</sup> Iraq has substantial revenues, mostly from oil, but the country is handicapped in its economic and social development by a severe shortage of technical people and of facilities for training them. An Iraqi Development Board was created in 1950 to administer the 70 percent of oil income which is allocated for development purposes, including the development of the vast water supplies of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and large areas of land capable of being brought into production through irrigation.

The agricultural college at Abu Gheraib was established in 1948. The Government of Iraq proposes to develop it as a center for research and teaching in agriculture and related sciences, and to make it the foundation of a nation-wide exten-

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this plan, see BULLETIN of Oct. 27, 1952, p. 660.

<sup>1</sup> For announcement of the agreement, see BULLETIN of Apr. 23, 1951, p. 653.

sion service along the lines of the American "county agent" system. The University of Arizona, under the present 18-month agreement with TCA, will provide American instructors in agronomy, agricultural practices, field crops, soil sciences, genetics, animal and poultry husbandry, and dairying. The work will be financed by a Point Four grant to the university of \$125,000.

## Enforcement of the Convention For Safety of Life at Sea

### EXECUTIVE ORDER<sup>1</sup>

WHEREAS under Article I of the International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea, signed at London on June 10, 1948, ratified by the United States of America, and proclaimed by the President on September 10, 1952<sup>2</sup> (Treaties and Other International Acts, Series 2495), the Government of the United States of America, together with the governments of the other countries which have become parties to the Convention, undertakes to give effect to the provisions of the said Convention and of the Regulations annexed thereto, to promulgate all laws, decrees, orders, and regulations, and to take all other steps which may be necessary to give the Convention full and complete effect, so as to insure that, from the point of view of safety of life, a ship is fit for the service for which it is intended; and

WHEREAS it is expedient and necessary, in order that the Government of the United States of America may give full and complete effect to the said Convention, that several departments and agencies of the executive branch of the said Government perform functions and duties thereunder; and

WHEREAS in accordance with Article XI of the Convention it has been determined that the Convention will come into force on November 19, 1952:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in me as President of the United States of America, it is ordered as follows:

1. The Department of State, the Department of the Treasury (Coast Guard), the Department of Commerce (Weather Bureau), and the Federal Communications Commission, respectively, are hereby directed, in relation to the fulfillment of the obligations undertaken by the Government of the United States of America under the said Convention, to perform the functions and duties therein prescribed and undertaken which appertain to the functions and duties which they severally are now directed or authorized by law to perform. Each of the said departments and the said commission shall cooperate and assist the others in carrying out the duties imposed by the Convention and by this order.

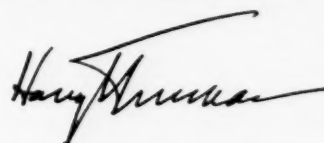
2. The Department of the Treasury (Coast Guard), or such other agency as may be authorized by law so to do, shall issue certificates as required by the said Convention, and in any case in which a certificate is to include matter which appertains to the functions and duties directed or authorized by law to be performed by any department or agency other than the issuing agency, the issuing agency shall first ascertain from such other department or agency its decision with respect to such matter, and such decision shall be final and binding.

3. Whenever the Coast Guard operates as a part of the Navy, the functions to be performed by the Department

of the Treasury (Coast Guard) under this order shall vest in and be performed by the Department of the Navy (Coast Guard).

4. This order supersedes Executive Order No. 7548 of February 5, 1937, entitled "Enforcement of the Convention for Safety of Life at Sea, 1929", to the extent that the said International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea signed at London on June 10, 1948, replaces and abrogates the International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea signed at London on May 31, 1929.

5. This order shall be effective as of September 10, 1952.



THE WHITE HOUSE,  
October 30, 1952.

## Export-Import Bank To Finance Canadian Mines Expansion

The Export-Import Bank of Washington on November 10 announced authorization of a credit of up to 5 million dollars to Falconbridge Nickel Mines, Ltd., of Toronto. This credit will assist in financing the company's expansion program, designed to increase substantially its production of nickel, cobalt, and copper from its extensive Canadian reserves. Approximately one-half of the total cost of the program will be provided by the company from its own resources, the remainder being provided by funds made available by the Defense Materials Procurement Agency and the loan from the Export-Import Bank.

Falconbridge Nickel Mines, Ltd., is the second largest producer of nickel in the world. It operates mines, mills, and smelters in the Sudbury District of the Province of Ontario, a refinery in Norway, and sells metals in the United States as well as in Western European markets. With assets recently reported in excess of 20 million dollars, the company has had a successful financial and operating history from its establishment in 1928. It has just obtained more than 3,700,000 dollars of new working capital from its Canadian stockholders, and in addition a stockholder has subscribed for 1,050,000 dollars to be made available next year.

The borrower contracted with the Defense Materials Procurement Agency on February 14, 1952, to deliver to the U.S. Government by 1961 not less than 50,000,000 pounds of nickel and 1,500,000 pounds of cobalt and has an option to deliver an additional 25,000,000 pounds of nickel and 25,000,000 pounds of copper. These metals, the production of which will be accelerated by the Bank's loan, are of vital importance to the military and industrial strength of the United States. The credit will be used mainly to assist in deepening the present main shaft and sinking a new shaft at

<sup>1</sup> No. 10402; 17 Fed. Reg. 9917.

<sup>2</sup> For the Department's announcement of the proclamation, see BULLETIN of Sept. 22, 1952, p. 464.

the company's Falconbridge Mine, developing and equipping its new Hardy Mine, and expanding the capacity of its mill and smelter so as to produce a minimum of 35,000,000 pounds or more of combined nickel and cobalt per year.

The credit, with interest at 5 percent per annum, is to be repaid in 10 semiannual installments beginning in 1955.

## Quarterly Report Issued by International Bank

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on October 31 reported a net income of 4,888,434 dollars for the 3 months ended September 30, 1952, the first quarter of the fiscal year.<sup>1</sup> This figure compared with 4,261,872 dollars for the same period in 1951. The net income was placed in the General Reserve, increasing this reserve to 62,916,534 dollars.

Gross income, exclusive of loan commissions, was 10,059,824 dollars, compared with 8,067,284 dollars for the first quarter of 1951. Loan commissions amounted to 2,192,041 dollars and were credited to the Bank's Special Reserve, as required by the Articles of Agreement, increasing this reserve to 29,876,695 dollars. Total reserves on September 30, 1952, were 92,793,229 dollars.

The Bank made four loans during the quarter: 50 million dollars to Australia, 1.3 million dollars to Peru, 25 million dollars to Colombia, and European currencies equivalent to 854,000 dollars to Iceland. These loans increased total loans signed by the Bank to 1,489,287,000 dollars. Disbursements on loans were 57,224,646 dollars, bringing total disbursements to 933,728,779 dollars on September 30.

Repayments of principal were received from borrowers as due; they totaled 506,070 dollars. The Bank also sold to private investors 2,536,447 dollars of securities from its loan portfolio: 1,359,000 dollars with its guarantee and 1,187,047 dollars without. These transactions brought total portfolio sales to 58,913,135 dollars.

On August 18 the Bank redeemed the 2½ percent Swiss-franc serial bonds of 1948, due 1953-54, in the principal amount of Swiss francs 17,000,000

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed breakdown of the Bank's quarterly statement, including its balance sheet as of Sept. 30 and a comparative statement of income and expenses during the same quarter of 1951, see attachments to the Bank's press release 309 dated Oct. 31.

(equivalent to 3,955,788 dollars). A premium of ½ of 1 percent (equivalent to 19,779 dollars) was paid.

Italy gave the Bank permission to use Italian lire equivalent to 820,000 dollars from its paid-in lire subscription to the Bank's capital for disbursements under a loan of July 1950 to Turkey. In addition, the Belgian Government authorized the Bank to relend the proceeds of any repayments on loans that have been made out of Belgium's paid-in franc subscription to the Bank's capital.

During the quarter Japan, Germany, and Jordan became members of the Bank, increasing subscribed capital by 583,000,000 dollars. On September 30, 1952, 54 countries were members of the Bank and the total subscribed capital amounted to 9,036,500,000 dollars.

## Loan for Finnish Wood-Products Industry

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on November 13 made its first loan in Swedish currency. It lent 18,000,000 Swedish kronor (approximately 3,500,000 dollars) to the Bank of Finland for the modernization and expansion of Finland's wood-products industry.

This is the fifth loan the Bank has made entirely in European currencies. Iceland has received three, totaling the equivalent of 4,312,000 dollars, and Yugoslavia has received one, equivalent to 28 million dollars. The Swedish kronor were made available for the loan to Finland by the Swedish Government from the paid-in portion of Sweden's subscription to the capital of the Bank.

The loan will supplement the 9,500,000 dollars which the Bank made available for the Finnish wood-products industry in a 20-million-dollar loan last April and will finance equipment to be purchased in Sweden. The equipment will be used in a program being carried out by Finnish companies to increase production of chemical pulp, newsprint, paperboard, cardboard, and other wood products. Timber is Finland's most important source of wealth, and the wood-products industry accounts for about 90 percent of Finland's exports.

The Bank has now made four loans in Finland totaling the equivalent of 38,300,000 dollars. Of this amount, about 25,700,000 dollars has been for the timber and wood-products industries. A timber loan of 2,300,000 dollars was repaid in full in September 1951.



## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### Calendar of Meetings<sup>1</sup>

#### Adjourned During November 1952

GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade):		
7th Session of the Contracting Parties . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 2-Nov. 10
UN (United Nations):		
Economic and Social Council:		
Economic Commission for Latin America:		
Iron and Steel International Conference . . . . .	Bogotá . . . . .	Oct. 13-Nov. 15
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:		
Seminar on Power Alcohol . . . . .	Lucknow . . . . .	Oct. 23-Nov. 6
<i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Forced Labor: 3d Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 14-Nov. 22
Trusteeship Council: 11th Session (2d Part) . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Nov. 21-26
1st Ibero-American Congress on Archives, Libraries, and Copyrights . . . . .	Madrid . . . . .	Oct. 20-Nov. 4
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Aerodromes, Air Routes & Ground Aids Division: 5th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Oct. 21-Nov. 20
Special European-Mediterranean Regional Frequency Meeting . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 28-Nov. 11
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
4th Session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council . . . . .	Manila . . . . .	Oct. 23-Nov. 7
Coordinating Committee . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Oct. 27-Nov. 4
Technical Advisory Committee on Desert Locust Control: 2d Meeting . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Nov. 3-6
Committee on Commodity Problems: 20th Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Nov. 5-15
Committee on Financial Control . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Nov. 5-15
Meeting of the Committee on Integration of FAO and the International Office of Epizootics . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Nov. 10-15
Council: 16th Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Nov. 17-29
Pan American Highway Congress, Special Meeting . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Oct. 26-Nov. 1
4th Inter-American Congress on Radiology . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Nov. 2-8
Regional Meeting of Technical Delegates, American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood . . . . .	Mexico City . . . . .	Nov. 3-6
International Wool Study Group: 5th Meeting . . . . .	London . . . . .	Nov. 3-6
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Asian Advisory Committee: 4th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 17-18
Governing Body: 120th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 25-28
Meeting of International Sugar Council . . . . .	London . . . . .	Nov. 24-30*

#### In Session as of November 30, 1952

ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Council: 17th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 9-
Air Transport Committee: 17th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 10-
Air Navigation Commission: 11th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 23-
Standing Committee on Aircraft Performance: 3d Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Nov. 11-
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
International Plenipotentiary Telecommunication Conference . . . . .	Buenos Aires . . . . .	Oct. 1-
UN (United Nations):		
General Assembly: 7th Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Oct. 14-
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
4th Meeting of Representatives of National Commissions . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Nov. 8-
General Conference: 7th Session . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Nov. 12-
West Indian Conference: 5th Session . . . . .	Jamaica . . . . .	Nov. 24-
FAO/WHO Joint Meeting on Malnutrition in Mothers, Infants and Children . . . . .	Gambia (Africa) . . . . .	Nov. 28-

<sup>1</sup> Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State, Nov. 21, 1952. Asterisks indicate tentative dates.

## Calendar of Meetings—Continued

### Scheduled December 1–February 28, 1953

Caribbean Commission, 15th Meeting . . . . .	Jamaica . . . . .	Dec. 1–
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Forestry and Forest Products Commission for Asia and the Pacific: 2d Session . . . . .	Singapore & Kuala Lumpur . . . . .	Dec. 1–
Meeting of Experts on Index Numbers . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Dec. 1–
Inter-American Meeting on Livestock Production . . . . .	São Paulo . . . . .	Dec. 8–
Meeting on Rice . . . . .	Bangkok . . . . .	Jan. 5–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Latin American Manpower Technical Conference . . . . .	Lima . . . . .	Dec. 1–
Technical Meeting on the Protection of Young Workers in Asian Countries, with relation to their Vocational Preparation . . . . .	Ceylon . . . . .	Dec. 1–
Textile Committee: 4th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Feb. 2–
UN (United Nations):		
Economic and Social Council:		
Consultative Group in the Field of Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders—Combined European and North American Regional . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Dec. 8–
Fiscal Commission: 4th Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Jan. 19–
Population Commission: 7th Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Jan. 19–
Statistical Commission: 7th Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Feb. 2–
Transport & Communications: 6th Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Feb. 2–
Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Feb. 16–
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:		
Inland Transport Committee: 2d Session . . . . .	Bandoeng . . . . .	Jan. 9–
Railway Subcommittee: 1st Session . . . . .	Bandoeng . . . . .	Jan. 14–
Inland Waterway Subcommittee: 1st Session . . . . .	Bandoeng . . . . .	Jan. 14–
Committee on Industry and Trade: 5th Session . . . . .	Bandoeng . . . . .	Jan. 26–
9th Session of the Commission . . . . .	Bandoeng . . . . .	Feb. 6–
2d Conference on Trade Promotion . . . . .	Manila . . . . .	Feb. 23–
6th International Conference of Social Work . . . . .	Madras . . . . .	Dec. 14–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
First Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education in South Asia and the Pacific . . . . .	Bombay . . . . .	Dec. 12–
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization):		
10th Session of the Council . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Dec. 15–
Inter-American Research Seminar on National Income . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Jan. 5–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
2d Southeast Asia Regional and Limited South Pacific Air Navigation Meeting . . . . .	Melbourne . . . . .	Jan. 13–
1st Air Navigation Conference . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Feb. 24–
WMO (World Meteorological Organization):		
1st Session of the Regional Association for Africa . . . . .	Tananarive . . . . .	Jan. 19–
Commission for Climatology . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Feb. 23–
Executive Board: 11th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Jan. 21–
International Wheat Council: Reconvening of 8th Session . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Jan. 30*
11th Session . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Jan. 30*
Inter-American Economic and Social Council: 3d Extraordinary Meeting . . . . .	Caracas . . . . .	Feb. 9–

## South African Case Calls for Neighborly Attitude

*Statement by Charles A. Sprague*

*U. S. Representative to the General Assembly*<sup>1</sup>

U.S./U.N. press release dated November 15

This item on the agenda of our committee—race conflict in South Africa—presents one of the most difficult questions confronting the General Assembly at this seventh session. It involves the subject of race relations *within* a member state; and the authority of the Assembly to consider the matter has been promptly challenged by the distinguished delegate of South Africa, who cites the limitation

imposed by article II, paragraph 7 of the Charter. Beyond this, there rises the very pertinent question of what the United Nations may find it wise to do in dealing with the problem. Let me say that this whole matter has been one of deep concern to my Government, whose primary desire is to promote the objectives of the United Nations within the framework of the Charter. My delegation has given close attention to the statements which have been made by the other delegates. It has noted the very divergent views presented by the sponsors of the agenda item on the one hand, for whom the distinguished delegate of India was the first spokesman, and on the other hand, by the delegations of South Africa, United Kingdom, New Zealand, France, and others. It has observed the inclination of the delegates of Sweden, of Norway, and of Brazil to probe further into the subject

<sup>1</sup> Made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Nov. 15.

before arriving at definite conclusions. My delegation shares with the latter group a concern to avoid both excess of zeal and timid legalism.

The statement made by my delegation on the preceding, related item, concerning the treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, made clear the historic position of my Government on essential human freedoms.<sup>2</sup> It reviewed our national history and noted the progress over the years, admittedly slow but nevertheless substantial, in making real the freedom and equality of all men which our own Declaration of Independence had proclaimed to the world. It endorsed a national policy of attempting steady progress toward removal of discriminations which the Charter condemns. It is not necessary to repeat that recital. I will only take time to say again that belief in the equality of all men is the foundation of our American democracy. We do not feel there can be any lasting solution for racial problems short of full participation of all races in the life of the nation. Yesterday, we heard the eloquent delegate of Pakistan read from our Declaration of Independence. That was and is the Charter of our Liberty.

The pending item, however, projects more sharply than the former the question of the extent of the authority of the United Nations. The delegation of South Africa has tabled a motion to declare that this committee is not competent to consider this item, and that motion has drawn very able support from other delegations. Others have suggested that since a legal question is involved, it should properly be referred to the International Court of Justice for a ruling. In the past, however, there has been a general reluctance to take such a course. The preference has been for the Assembly to feel its way in these matters, giving it the opportunity to grow through experience.

It is the opinion of my delegation that the motion of the distinguished delegate of South Africa, which would declare our committee not competent even to consider the item, is too broad. We feel that the Assembly and the committee enjoy under the Charter the full right of discussion of relevant matters and that the exercise of that right does not contravene the restriction imposed by article II, paragraph 7 of the Charter. Therefore, my delegation will vote against the motion, on the ground that it would preclude even discussion.

My delegation would like to offer some general comments on this point. It is frankly concerned not to see the door of legality strongly bolted in a way which would prevent adequate consideration of the vital and far-reaching problems of human rights in this changing world; but we are equally concerned not to open the door at this time to every sort of proposal. Wise statesmanship suggests that we leave the door ajar and neither close it tight nor open it wide. That conclusion flows out of our own experience under a

written constitution. It was the broad construction of the United States Constitution by Chief Justice John Marshall which gave that document vitality and permitted the nation under it to grow and mature.

#### U.S. Expresses Serious Concern

I should like to turn aside now from the legal difficulties arising on this question, which admittedly are real, and give consideration to the heart of the problem presented by this item. My Government respects fully the sovereignty of the great Union of South Africa with which it has long been associated in friendly relationship. There is steady interchange of travel and trade between our countries. We have not forgotten the fine record of the Union's fighting men, who won some of the earliest victories of World War II against the oppressive forces of fascism. Nor are we unmindful of the sacrifices now being made by South Africans in the United Nations struggle against aggression in Korea.

My delegation is exceedingly reluctant in this gathering of the nations to point an accusing finger at this member state and does not intend to do so. It is, however, seriously concerned over the matter at issue, for the present and future well-being of the people of South Africa. We recognize the very complex situation which exists in that country, the variety of its racial components, the differences in levels of culture, and the conflicts within as well as among groups.

The body of legislation which the Government of South Africa has adopted for the handling of its races is under attack here as discriminatory on the ground that it imposes segregation and is designed to insure a permanent economic and political supremacy for the the minority holding the reins of power. Authors of this program of legislation admit that a policy of segregation is being followed, but deny that it is discriminatory and oppressive. They assert that it is the best solution they can find for the difficult problem which they face.

Without assuming to sit in judgment on the internal affairs of South Africa, my delegation feels impelled to raise questions as to the practical wisdom of such a policy. It is concerned, because in other societies the trend is toward steady diminution of legal segregation and the steady increase of equal participation in the political and economic life of the community as peoples become qualified.

To adopt a policy of increased restriction does not seem to my delegation to be in harmony with the generally accepted interpretation of the goals and of the obligations of the Charter. There is the further fear that in the long run, the repercussions from pursuit of such a settled policy may be adverse to the government principally concerned and harmful to the development of racial harmony elsewhere in the world.

<sup>2</sup> For text of a statement made by Mr. Sprague on this item, see BULLETIN of Nov. 24, 1952, p. S33.



Now we arrive at this point: What can or should the United Nations do in this situation? The United Nations is not a super-government. It is barred from intervening in the essentially domestic affairs of a member state. There is real danger, as the distinguished delegate from New Zealand said yesterday, lest the United Nations "diffuse its efforts too widely." But while the United Nations has no power to impose standards, it does have power to proclaim them, and in this area of fundamental freedoms it has done so. It is clearly within the authority of the United Nations to affirm and reaffirm the principles of respect for human rights which have gained general acceptance among enlightened peoples, and to call on all member states to set the course of their national policy in the direction of embodying those principles in law and custom as rapidly as local conditions permit.

If we can do so in general terms, we avoid the vexing issue of competence and avoid also the danger of the stability of this organization inherent in singling out for direct action special legislation of a member state. And this course may be more effective in accomplishing the aims of United Nations than another which wounds the national pride of a member.

Turning now to the resolution before the committee, my delegation expresses grave doubt as to its desirability, in its present form. It proposes the establishment of a commission, another commission to be added to the already large number of United Nations subsidiary organs. The commission would be charged with finding out the international aspects and implications of the racial situation in the Union of South Africa.

How much could this commission add to what is being brought out already in our discussions here? As the distinguished delegate from Pakistan said day before yesterday, the facts in this matter are well-known. He said, "There is not a library in the world where anyone who cares to read cannot obtain dozens of books written from all angles, describing the situation in South Africa." Is there a better forum for bringing out the international implications of these facts than this committee in which 60 member nations present the views of their governments and their understanding of these implications?

#### **U.N. Exercise of Its Persuasive Powers**

We have no power to enforce change. We have only the power to urge in order to persuade. Whatever the findings of the commission would

be, is this the right path toward influencing the minds of those whose course of action this Assembly is seeking to moderate? Or will the appointment of this commission only serve to stiffen their resistance to our persuasion? We believe that such a commission is not a practical means of using our influence.

My delegation strongly favors the approach offered in the amendment submitted by the delegations of Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. If added to the three preambular paragraphs of the 18-power draft resolution, the text of this amendment provides in unequivocal terms a broad basis for agreement among most of us in this committee. It draws a conclusion from our discussion here and expresses in more specific terms the meaning of our obligation under the Charter. It points out the direction in which the national policies of all members should proceed. It calls on all members, not just one, to bring their policies into conformity with Charter principles and obligations. It preserves the basic solidarity which is of overriding importance for the preservation of our organization. It offers what, in our view, is the best means for exercise by the Assembly of its important powers of persuasion.

In any roll call of nations, the United States wants to be found on the side of human liberty, but it wants the poll to be taken on a measure which it can wholeheartedly support, such as the amendment now before the committee.

We would leave enforcement to the lively conscience of the citizens of each country and to the power of the public opinion of the world. This course may not satisfy those eager to crack down on a member whom they regard as delinquent. It will not satisfy those who, not recognizing the limitations of this organization, want the United Nations to do something about distressing situations. But in the long run, this course may accomplish far more than abrupt and direct action. Let us not impute evil purpose or lack of intelligence to the people of South Africa. Rather our attitude should be one of neighborly helpfulness in working out just solutions to the difficult problems they face in the field of race relations in their country.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The 18-power draft resolution calling for a commission to study the racial situation (U.N. doc. A/AC.61/L.8/Rev. 2) was adopted by the Committee on Nov. 20 by a vote of 35-2-22 (U.S.). On the same date the committee adopted by a vote of 20 (U.S.)-7-32 a resolution embodying the Scandinavian amendment referred to by Mr. Sprague. The South African motion declaring the committee not competent to consider the item was defeated.

## **An Answer to Soviet Attacks on U.S. Policy Toward Underdeveloped Areas**

*Statement by Isador Lubin  
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly<sup>1</sup>*

U.S./U.N. press release dated November 11

The general debate on financing economic development has come to an end. We have learned a great deal about the progress, the problems, the needs, and the hopes of the various governments represented here. But we have also heard many fairy tales—fairy tales that were told by the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Byelorussia, the U.S.S.R., and the Ukraine. In these tales they described the wonderful accomplishments of the so-called people's democracies—accomplishments so vast that in countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia the governments last year were forced to go back to a rationing system for certain food products and other essentials of life; accomplishments so great that only within the past year such necessities as fish, butter, cheese, flour, sugar, and potatoes practically disappeared from the retail stores in Poland. Of these "accomplishments" I shall speak more later.

In these fairy tales we also heard, in five different speeches, of those terrible bogeymen—the American monopolists. Indeed, if I understood the interpreter correctly, one of the representatives of the so-called people's democracies labeled me personally as the representative of the American monopolists. It is quite apparent that in their eyes any American businessman who invests his funds abroad, no matter what the size of his investment, is a monopolist.

But the most fantastic tale of all was the formula that was proposed for the economic development of the less developed areas by the representatives of the countries of Eastern Europe. As I heard the Soviet record played and replayed, I thought back to a meeting of the Economic, Employment, and Development Commission that took

place about a year and a half ago. At that meeting, the same record was played. What is the real theme of the Soviet song? I think I can best describe what it means to economic development by quoting what the American representative on the Economic, Employment, and Development Commission said at that time—away back in the spring of 1951. Remember, Gentlemen, this was some 18 months ago.

At that time the U.S. representative said:

Mr. Katz-Suchy, the Representative of Poland, suggested that the road to development would best be found with no private investment, no public loans, no loans by international organizations. And I wasn't quite sure whether he also said no grant assistance. If I have correctly understood the rest of the debate, the more usual complaint is that there has been too little, rather than too much of this sort of thing. Hence, on this I think I need make no further comment.

But then Mr. Katz-Suchy adds a further bit of advice—there should be no foreign trade!

And I might add, we heard similar advice from Mr. Gromyko the other day.

In particular, his indignation was vented on the imports of raw material by the United States and the other developed countries. To sustain his thesis he cited some striking figures of American dependence on the outside world, and for the most part the underdeveloped areas of the world, for these materials.

I might add that we have heard these same figures repeated in this Committee during the past 2 weeks.

But he left out some of the best figures. Not only are we dependent for nearly a third of our copper and some of the other items he listed (he could have pointed out that there is a long list of such items); we are dependent on outside sources for 100 percent of our natural rubber, tin, and cordage fibres, and for nearly all of our manganese. Seventy-five percent of our tungsten comes from outside the United States, about a third of our lead and zinc—and so on. This is not a new development, something which has recently happened as a result of our defense effort. It has been one of our facts of life for a number of years.

<sup>1</sup> Made in Committee II (Economic and Financial) on Nov. 11.

For these purchases the United States pays cash. They form an important income item for countries seeking to acquire the supplies needed for their development. Would they be better off if their copper, tin, or rubber had to be kept at home?

What Mr. Katz-Suchy's advice adds up to is this: No external financing and no income from exports. In effect, what he is advocating is no development.

#### **Alleged Profits of U.S. Investors**

As the Soviet gramophone record went round and round, we heard again and again the monotonous charge: "The American who invests abroad makes unconscionable profits from the enslavement of the labor population in the underdeveloped countries and from the draining off of their resources."

Certainly, no one would deny that individual investors in particular countries have made large profits in certain years. Nor would anyone deny that during recent years the return on investment in oil abroad has been higher than on similar investment at home. During the period 1949 to 1951 the return on this type of investment abroad has been from 5 to 6 points.

But how have American foreign investments in other lines of activity made out as compared with what they have yielded at home? Let us look at data compiled by my Government showing the rates of return actually realized by U.S. private direct investments for the years 1949 to 1951.

These statistics show that in 1949 the ratio of earnings to capital for all direct U.S. investment abroad, excluding petroleum, was 12.4 percent. The ratio of earnings to capital invested in the United States was 10.7 percent. In other words, the relatively greater risk involved in foreign investment, as compared with investment at home, was compensated by only about 1.7 percentage points. In 1950 this difference amounted to only 1.5 percentage points. In 1951 it was about 4 percentage points.

More specifically, in the field of manufacturing, American investors abroad earned 16 percent in 1949 compared with a return of about 14 percent on similar investment at home. In other words, the return on this type of investment abroad, in 1949, was but 2 percentage points higher than in the United States. But in 1950 investment in manufacturing at home earned a return of over 17 percent while it earned only 16 percent abroad. In 1951 somewhat higher returns were again available abroad, the foreign investor in manufacturing earning 2.3 percentage points more than he would have received at home.

Now, we have heard a lot about mining profits. What is the record here? In 1949 mining investment in the United States earned a return of 12 percent; the return on American mining investment abroad was only about 10 percent. In 1950 the comparable figures were 13 percent at home and 12.4 percent abroad. In other words, in these years, there was in fact no reward to American

investors as a whole for taking the additional risk of investing their capital in foreign mining operations. In those years, the return from such investment abroad was actually smaller than could have been obtained at home. In 1951 the balance had shifted, with foreign mining investment receiving returns 1.3 percentage points greater than similar investment at home.

Finally, let us look at public utilities. In 1949 the total American investment in public utilities abroad earned 3.8 percent. In 1950 American investments in public utilities abroad earned 4.5 percent. In 1951 they earned 3.6 percent. In contrast, in these same 3 years, American investors in the United States averaged 9 percent per annum. In those 3 years, the American capital invested in foreign utilities actually earned less than half of what the same type of investment yielded in the United States.

I do not believe it is necessary to point out that the rate of earnings on American investments abroad is in no way a measure of what the American investors actually receive in profits. Of the profits actually earned in 6 years—1946–52—over 4.8 billion dollars were plowed back—reinvested—in the countries where they were earned. This amount is equal to 50 percent of the total profits earned. To put it another way, for every dollar earned from American direct investments abroad, 50 cents was reinvested, that is, put back to work further developing the economy of the country where the profit was earned.

In Latin America, during the period from 1946 to 1951, the total earnings of U.S. companies that had subsidiaries in Latin America were approximately 1.6 billion dollars. During the same period these subsidiaries reinvested a total of over 860 million dollars. In other words, these companies, on the average, earned 270 million dollars a year and reinvested an annual average of about 145 million dollars or one half of these earnings during this time.

And, since we are talking about profits, there is one other point which is worth mentioning and concerning which the delegates from Eastern Europe have been singularly quiet. I refer to the other side of the coin, that is—the losses that have been incurred by American investors who have ventured abroad. It might interest them to know, when they talk about the profits that are "wrested" from the underdeveloped countries, that during the period from 1920 to 1940 the net loss on the capital value of portfolio investments suffered by American investors abroad was almost 3½ billion dollars.

#### **Does the U.S. Prevent Industrial Growth?**

Mr. Chairman, the representatives of certain Eastern European countries have charged that the United States deliberately prevents the development of manufacturing in underdeveloped areas.



We have heard repeatedly that the United States is "forcing" these countries to concentrate almost exclusively upon the production of primary products for American industry and upon the production of strategic war materials. We have been told that the United States stands in the way of genuine economic development.

The representatives from the Soviet orbit have told us that this is the case in Latin America. But what actually has been the story of industrial production in Latin America since the war? The facts are publicly available. They are to be found in the 1950 economic survey of Latin America prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America. This is the most recent economic review available for this area.

That survey states that during the period between 1945 and 1949 the rate of industrial expansion in six of the Latin American countries was between 4 and 5 percent annually. In four other Latin American countries, during the same period, the rate of industrial expansion was between 6½ percent and 12 percent. The survey points out that the rate of industrial development during the period since the war was "particularly outstanding" in Argentina and Chile, among other countries. Only 2 months ago, in an address given to the Board of Governors of the International Bank at Mexico City on September 10, 1952, Raoul Prebisch, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America, pointed to the increasing production of capital goods—chiefly iron, steel, cement, and machinery—in a number of Latin American countries, and he mentioned Brazil in particular.

The representatives of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland have asserted that American investment is interested only in the development of strategic raw materials. The record clearly proves the falsity of these charges. Had these representatives been interested in the facts, they would have taken the time to read the published reports of the U.S. Export-Import Bank loans. They would have found that this Government-owned institution is playing an important part in the industrial development of many parts of the world.

They would have found that among the loans of the Export-Import Bank are advances for building steel mills in Mexico, Brazil, and Chile; for the mechanization of rice production in Ecuador; for electrification programs in Indonesia; for the construction of cement plants in Saudi Arabia; for equipment for dam and canal construction in Afghanistan; as well as for railways, hydroelectric plants, fertilizer plants, and irrigation systems in many other underdeveloped countries. And may I note that these types of loans comprise, by far, the largest number made by the Bank?

As far as private investment is concerned, it is true that in the years immediately after the war a

large part of American private foreign investment went into the petroleum industry. But, as I have already pointed out, more and more American private investment is tending to go into manufacturing and distribution, and less is tending to go into extractive industries. If I may repeat what I said in my previous statement, between the end of 1949 and the end of 1951, American investment in manufacturing and distribution in the underdeveloped countries rose by about 525 million dollars, while the amount invested in petroleum increased by only 325 million dollars.

Mr. Chairman, in my previous statement I gave a number of examples of the way in which American private investment was contributing to the general economic development of underdeveloped countries. But let us look at what the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America has to say about this question of American private investment in Latin America. In the studies on Brazil and Chile, for example, private American investments are listed by the Economic Commission for Latin America as among the *most important* sources of capital in public utilities, manufacturing, and trade. In Brazil, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America, U.S. investors are represented in meat packing, assembly of automobiles, production of automobile tires, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electrical supplies, and radios. United States concerns, jointly with Brazilian interests, are engaged in the manufacture of rayon, rubber goods, and electric-light bulbs. In Chile, American investments are to be found in the manufacture of glass products, automobile tires, asbestos, and synthetic textiles—most of which are consumed by the local population.

#### Attacks on Point Four

The representatives of the Eastern European countries could not resist repeating their usual allegations that the Point Four Program of the United States is designed to "dominate" the underdeveloped countries, to obtain from them their strategic resources, and to gain other selfish ends.

Now, the fact is that the technical-assistance program of the U.S. Government is not a new development in American policy. It began over 15 years ago as a program of cooperative assistance to Latin America and was given new impetus by President Truman in 1949. It might be interesting to examine more closely the "dominating" and "strategic" projects which are now being carried out under this program and about which we have heard so many false charges.

First of all, in what fields is the U.S. Point Four Program active? I have here the status report of our Point Four activities as of the beginning of September of this year. It shows a total of 2,090 experts authorized, of which 1,265 are already in the field at work. In what fields are they to work? Of these 2,090 experts, 616 or about 30 percent are

to help develop agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; 333 or 16 percent are to work in public health and sanitation; 207 or about 10 percent are to improve education; 172, or just over 8 percent, are in the field to aid in the development of natural resources. The latter are mostly concerned with irrigation and hydroelectric power. In the case of minerals, our Point Four experts do not get into the question of actual extraction. Their function is to help requesting countries to determine what their mineral resources are. Seventy-seven or about 3 percent of our Point Four experts are to work in the improvement of public administration and government services. Smaller numbers are allocated to transport and communications, housing, social services, and labor problems. All of these experts are in these fields of activity only because they were asked for by the host country.

Possibly some of our friends from the Soviet group may find something sinister in our working in the field of public administration. In this field, we are trying to help governments, both national and municipal, to improve the services which they can render to their citizens. If I might cite just a few cases: In Costa Rica a public administration consultant is helping work out the "strategic" problems involved in street cleaning and garbage collection in the city of San José. This is being done at the request of the Director of Public Health. Eight professors from Brazil are now studying public administration at the University of Southern California. Upon their return to Brazil, they will teach in the fields of personnel administration and research and statistics. Another case is a project to survey the administration and organization of one of the state governments in Colombia. This involved the improvement of tax systems and tax-collection methods.

The Soviet representatives apparently consider these types of projects as "sinister, strategic, or dominating." Can this mean, perchance, that in the Soviet mentality such projects can only have such purposes?

The kind of thing we are trying to do through our Point Four Program is the same kind of thing all of us who are interested in human welfare are trying to do through the United Nations—that is, all of us except the Soviet Union and the so-called people's democracies who refuse to contribute a single red ruble to the U.N. Technical Assistance Program.

On other occasions, we have elaborated on the kind of projects we are carrying on under our Point Four Program. We are working in education, in sanitation and public health, in agronomy, in insect control, and on countless other projects designed to raise living standards. If I may cite a few examples:

In Peru, we have been working with the Peruvian Government to set up a new experimental ranch in the jungle country east of the Andes.

We have brought in cattle by truck over the mountains and have set up a sawmill. We are helping the Peruvian Government to find out whether this large area can be used for food production. We have set up another experimental farm for sheep raising in the High Sierras. We have been training workers to do agricultural extension work. The Peruvian Government already has more than 100 of its own citizens out working with the farmers. In 1951 these Peruvian extension workers reached 200,000 farm families.

The results are already rewarding. The 12,000 bushels of improved wheat seed contributed under Point Four has already brought about an increased yield of 25 percent on the farms where it was used. Another interesting result has been with potatoes. The potato originated in Peru, but the new methods of cultivation which have been developed elsewhere are only now reaching back to the country of origin. The extension workers have succeeded in raising potato production per acre by five times in some cases.

In Chile the "Servicio," through which our Point Four Program operates, has worked with the Sanitation Department of the city of Santiago to build a sewerage system for the northern part of the city. This will help more than 200,000 people who have hitherto been without adequate sanitation. It will make the area ready for industrial purposes and render 40,000 hectares suitable for truck gardening.

Turning to Iran, Point Four experts and Point Four funds are being used to complete a textile mill, a slaughter house, and a meat-packing plant. The city of Shiraz is being helped to improve its electric-power system and Tehran's new water system is being speeded. Point Four is aiding in establishing farm-machinery cooperatives so that farmers who previously had only primitive tools will now have access to modern machinery.

In India, on October 2, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, the first of a series of large-scale rural-development projects involving an eventual 18,500 villages was begun. Teams of Indian and American experts will work in the villages to help villagers to solve village problems—increasing food production; providing pure water; improving irrigation methods; learning the use of fertilizer; learning to read and write; forming cooperatives; and improving the conditions of land tenure.

In 1952 India needs nearly 300,000 tons of iron and steel to make simple farm machinery. Point Four is supplying 39,000 tons of it. India needs water so that farmers may grow two crops a year instead of one. Point Four is sharing in the cost of drilling and equipping 2,000 wells.

Mr. Chairman, the representative of the Soviet Union has described our Point Four Program as a weapon of American diplomacy. That charge was, for once, correct. We are proud of this weapon. We are proud of the way our Point Four Program has helped the people of Latin America.

the Middle East, and Asia to improve their standards of living. We are proud of the way in which our Point Four Program has contributed to the security and progress which are the goals of the United Nations. We intend to continue using this weapon to help build a better and more peaceful world.

### The Situation in Poland and Czechoslovakia

In contrast to what has been described as "dominating and strategic" projects carried on under the U.S. Point Four Program, we have been told of "the great and unselfish contributions of the Soviet Union" to the underdeveloped countries in the Soviet bloc. In the case of his own country, the delegate of Poland has said that this "unselfish contribution has strengthened Poland's political and economic independence and has allowed it to play its part in maintaining peace."

Mr. Chairman, this "unselfish contribution" of the Soviet Union seems to have yielded some paradoxical results. As I have already stated, rationing was reintroduced in Poland 6 years after the war. In September 1951 it began with meats and fats. Last spring soap and washing powder were added to the rationing list. On May 11 sugar and other sweets were added to the ration list. Seven years after the war, the food situation is still so grave that the Government has been forced to fall back on its earlier postwar rationing measures.

And it is here that the paradox arises. Poland's present population is about 30 percent smaller than its population before the war. Since the war, Poland has gained the rich agricultural lands of Eastern Germany. It has also gained the valuable coal and industrial resources of Silesia. As a result—and also, no doubt, as a result of the "unselfish contributions of the Soviet Union"—Poland's national product has been significantly increased.

Let me repeat. On the one hand there are fewer Poles than before the war. On the other, Poland's resources—both agricultural and industrial—and Poland's output have increased. There is no evidence of large savings by the people. Then why the necessity for rationing? Does this mean that the Polish workers are consuming less?

What is happening to this greater national product? Some of it, of course, is going into new investment. But what of the rest? Since Poland no longer publishes national product or income statistics, we cannot say specifically. Still, the missing part of the national product must go somewhere. The delegate from Poland has assured us that it is being used to strengthen Poland's political and economic independence. Could this mean, by any chance, that the larger part of the increased national product is being sent to the Soviet Union? Could it be that the rest is being

stockpiled in Poland for the purposes of future Soviet wars?

From Czechoslovakia, such information as is available shows how the Soviets are encouraging the "political and economic independence" of other so-called people's democracies.

One instrument for encouraging this "independence" seems to be the fostering of trade within the Soviet sphere. But who is calling the signals on this trade between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.? Is there, as certain delegates would have us believe, a condition of "equality" between the partners in this trade? The answers to a few questions might help us here.

Is it not true that when the Soviets have made certain types of purchases in Czechoslovakia, they have imposed conditions regarding delivery dates and quality—conditions which it was obvious in advance could not be met? And is it not also true that every delay cost the Czechs a fine which was deducted from the price they received for their goods?

In the face of the stories we have been told about the high living standards in Czechoslovakia, is it not strange that on August 18, Joseph Nepomusky, Minister of Agriculture, warned Czech farmers that their agricultural production was lagging? And is it not also strange that few vegetables or fruits are available in the Czech markets and that there has been a serious potato shortage since the first of the year—all of this in a country which, before the war, had one of the highest living standards in Europe?

Did not the newspaper *Rude Pravo* on August 25 deplore the serious coal shortage in Czechoslovakia? And, is it not strange that on October 23 the Czech Government imposed rationing on household and nonindustrial electricity—7 years after the war?

And finally, did not Minister of the Interior Nosek announce a crisis in rail transport—a crisis described by Nosek over the Prague Radio as "a threat to our national economy, to our supply system, and to the functioning of some factories?" That was on October 27—just 2 weeks ago. On November 8, just last Saturday, and again over the Prague Radio, Food Minister Jankovcova had an answer for this transport crisis—but this answer, typically, was at the expense of the Czech people. She appealed for volunteers to move the best harvest by wheelbarrows and carts. Food was to be moved by hand and by cart, Mr. Chairman, thus freeing railroad cars for other purposes. I leave it to the imagination of this Committee what those other purposes are.

Mr. Chairman, it has been said that in the Soviet Union all men are equal—but that some men are *more* equal than others. Apparently, the same kind of equality exists between the Soviet Union and its affiliated States.

Mr. Chairman, the representative of the Soviet Union has called for a program of deeds and not



words. The first deed he called for was a halt to the armaments race. But, where does his own Government stand on this question? I shall not discuss the attitude of the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament in the United Nations. Every delegate in this room knows only too well that the Soviet Union has at no time since the war reduced its armament effort in any significant way.

It might be interesting to point out what the Economic Commission for Europe, of which the U.S.S.R. is a member, has to say on this particular point. In its discussion of the Soviet economy on page 144 of its 1951 report, the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe has this to say:

The claims of national defense have been extremely heavy, equalling or exceeding the 1940 level in each of the last several years and, in 1951, being roughly two-thirds greater than the total volume of resources devoted to investment and defense purposes combined in 1937. In contrast, the Economic Commission for Europe reports that the amount of resources devoted to consumption increased only moderately above pre-war levels.

Mr. Chairman, if I may restate what I said in my earlier discussion of the problems of economic development—the accomplishments of the past few years give us hope and promise for the future. But they do not blind us to the size of the job that is still before us. Clearly, these accomplishments are not sufficient—especially when measured

against the needs and desires of people throughout the world.

But certain incontrovertible facts *do* stand out. The gross product *per capita* for Latin America as a whole, as stated by Mr. Prebisch, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America, has increased at the rate of 3.4 percent annually in the 5-year period 1946-50—and it is still increasing. Every year does show more and more electricity being consumed in the less developed countries. Cement production in the underdeveloped countries is increasing by large percentages. The production of iron and steel in Latin America has actually grown from next to nothing just before the war to an important industry at the present time. Thousands of miles of new roads have been built throughout many of the underdeveloped areas.

Can the above facts be interpreted to mean that economic conditions in these areas are really growing absolutely worse?

Despite the accomplishments, the job ahead in the field of economic and social advancement in many parts of the world is still tremendous.

The American people are acutely aware of the urgency of the job that still remains to be done. In the accomplishment of that task, they will continue to play their full part as responsible members of the United Nations.

## Seventh Session of GATT Closes

Press release 865 dated November 10

The 34 countries contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)<sup>1</sup> concluded their seventh session November 10 at Geneva. The session, which opened October 2, was marked by the prompt handling of a number of highly significant economic problems and the solution of several items arising under the complaints procedure. Completion of the session in less than the usual time was attributed largely to preparatory work which had been done under the intersessional machinery which the contracting parties had set up tentatively last year and which they have extended and strengthened for the period between the seventh and eighth sessions.

<sup>1</sup> Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Southern Rhodesia, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and United States.

Among the most significant actions taken in the session were:

(1) Granting of a waiver of certain obligations in the General Agreement, particularly the most-favored-nation provisions, in order to permit the six countries participating in the European Coal and Steel Community to fulfill their responsibilities under their treaty without violating the GATT;

(2) Provisional settlement of the dispute between the United States and Belgium concerning import restrictions imposed by Belgium against U. S. products;

(3) Approval of a text of an international convention to ease the import of commercial samples and advertising matter and of a code of standards to reduce documentary requirements for the importation of goods;

(4) Consultation with a number of countries on import restrictions imposed for balance-of-payment reasons;

(5) Consideration of an application for accession to the General Agreement by Japan;

(6) Successful settlement through a Panel on Complaints of a number of disputes among countries involving charges of violation of the General Agreement or the impairment of rights under the Agreement;

(7) Authorization to the Netherlands to reduce its imports of wheat flour from the United States as an offset to restrictions against Netherlands dairy products imposed by the United States under Section 104 of the Defense Production Act.

*Coal and Steel Community*—The contracting parties at the seventh session agreed to waive provisions of the General Agreement to the extent necessary to permit France, Italy, the German Federal Republic, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg to fulfill their treaty obligations as members of the European Coal and Steel Community. In general, as far as coal and steel products are concerned, the rights and obligations of governments of member states in the GATT, whether acting singly or as the Community, are hereafter to be the same as if they were a single contracting party whose customs territory included European territories of the member states. Provisions were also made for working relationships between the high authority of the Community and the contracting parties.

*Belgian Import Restrictions on Dollar Goods*—Early in 1952, the United States filed a formal complaint that import restrictions imposed by the Belgium-Luxembourg Economic Union were damaging U.S. trade and constituted a departure from GATT obligations. At the seventh session, Belgium announced its intention to return to a regime free of quantitative restrictions and, as a first step within the next 2 or 3 months, to put in effect significant measures of relaxation in its dollar import restrictions. The delegations of the United States and of Canada (which was also affected by the restrictions) expressed their satisfaction with the Belgian proposal and agreed that no useful purpose would be served in further consideration of the matter by the contracting parties pending announcement of the details of the Belgian proposals.

*Balance-of-Payments Import Restrictions*—The contracting parties conducted consultations with seven countries on import restrictions which they apply for the purpose of safeguarding their balance-of-payments and monetary reserves. Consultations took place with Italy, the Netherlands, France, Pakistan, Australia, Ceylon, and the United Kingdom.

The contracting parties discussed in considerable detail with the consulting countries the financial basis and the policy and method of the administration of their import restrictions. Discussions covered a variety of specific commodities which illustrated the problems facing countries

imposing restrictions as well as difficulties created by restrictions for exporting countries.

The consultations were characterized by full and frank discussion and free exchange of opinions. As provided for in the General Agreement, there was also full consultation with the International Monetary Fund. Representatives of all of the consulting governments indicated that the views expressed by the contracting parties in the consultations would be conveyed to their respective governments for consideration.

The contracting parties made arrangements to carry out similar consultations at a future convenient time with Brazil, Chile, Finland, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia, Sweden, and the Union of South Africa.

*International Chamber of Commerce Resolutions*—The International Chamber of Commerce, at its thirteenth congress, June 1951, passed a series of resolutions urging governments to enter into agreement to reduce "red tape" in import and export formalities. These resolutions were passed on to the contracting parties and action on these was begun at the sixth session. Continuing their work at this session, the contracting parties have now approved the text of an international convention providing for duty-free entry of samples and of certain advertising matter. The convention will be opened for signature February 1, 1953, and will enter into force when 15 states have accepted it. The contracting parties have also agreed to review steps taken by governments to give effect to principles of valuation contained in the GATT and to ascertain current methods of determining the nationality of goods. A code of standards was adopted on documentary requirements for importation of goods and the abolition of consular invoices and consular visas by the end of 1956 was recommended.

Pending such abolition, certain standard practices in this field are recommended to governments. The contracting parties also recommended that governments imposing or intensifying trade restrictions should authorize, to the fullest extent possible, fulfillment of contracts which were in effect at the time the restrictions were imposed.

*Application of Japan*—Last July the Government of Japan notified the contracting parties of its desire to negotiate for accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The contracting parties at the seventh session approved a resolution recognizing that Japan should take its rightful place in the community of trading nations and to that end should be admitted to appropriate international arrangements. An intersessional committee is directed to make a detailed examination of matters involved, discussing this with Japanese officials. Two meetings with Japanese officials were held during the seventh session, and the contracting parties decided the intersessional committee meeting on Japan should be February 2, 1953. Some contracting parties have indicated

that they may enter into bilateral tariff negotiations with Japan immediately, with the intention of incorporating the results of such bilateral negotiations into later multilateral negotiations directed toward Japanese accession to the General Agreement.

*U.S. Dairy Product Restrictions*—Cheese exporting countries claiming to be affected adversely by U.S. restrictions under Section 104 of the Defense Production Act asked the contracting parties at this session to recognize their right to withdraw certain concessions from the United States to offset injury caused by U.S. restrictions. The Netherlands was the only country prepared at this session to specify items it might wish to withdraw. The contracting parties recognized the impairment caused by the restrictions and recognized that it might be necessary to convene a special session to deal with their specific proposals. In the case of the Netherlands, the contracting parties authorized that country to reduce its imports of wheat flour from the United States by 12,000 tons in 1953, as an offset to the dairy-product restrictions imposed by the United States under Section 104 of the Defense Production Act.

*Other Complaints*—Turkey and Greece indicated they were seriously injured by the "escape clause" action the United States took last summer which increased the duty on dried figs above levels incorporated in the U.S. schedule of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The U.S. delegation continued consultations, which had been begun in Washington, with these countries. In the case of Turkey, agreement was reached on a series of provisional withdrawals permitting Turkey to increase duties on certain U.S. products entering Turkey. The Greek delegation felt that no advantage to Greece would be obtained from any withdrawals it might make and asked the United States to consider additional U.S. concessions to offset the loss of the dried-fig concession. A study of trade between the two countries will be made during the intersessional period to see if it is possible to find additional concession items. The U.S. delegation stated the intention, expressed by the President when he announced the fig duty increase, of reexamining the need for this increase whenever circumstances justify and not later than before the next fig marketing season.

Greece, supported by Turkey, also declared itself injured by the U.S. export subsidy on raisins. The U.S. delegation expressed its willingness to consult but pointed out that the subsidy had been designed to maintain the traditional U.S. export market for the product and had not increased U.S. trade or expanded U.S. production. Consultations were begun but, because of limited data available and complicated nature of the problem, it was not possible to conclude consultations during the session.

The contracting parties considered the complaint brought by the United Kingdom concerning

the increase in tariff rates imposed by the Greek Government with regard to a number of commodities by revising upward previously agreed factors used in calculating import duties. The contracting parties considered this a violation of the General Agreement and the Greek Government undertook to eliminate the violation by July 1, 1953.

Another complaint was made against a Greek "contribution tax" imposed on imported goods. The contracting parties were unable to determine whether this levy should properly be considered an exchange measure, a customs duty, or an internal tax and decided to seek advice from the International Monetary Fund on the exchange aspect of the problem before making a decision.

The contracting parties considered Norway's complaint concerning discriminatory treatment by Germany of Norwegian-type sardines. Germany was requested to consider ways and means of removing inequality of treatment accorded this product and to consult with Norway, reporting back to the contracting parties at the eighth session.

Another complaint which was considered at the seventh session concerned the Belgian allocation "familias," a tax to provide allowances to workers' families, which is levied on products imported by Belgian governmental, provincial, and municipal authorities. Exemptions can be granted in cases of importation from countries where similar contributions are imposed. The Norwegian and Danish Governments claim they are being discriminated against since certain other contracting parties have obtained exemption from the tax. The contracting parties felt that the legislation was inconsistent with the provisions of the General Agreement and urged the Belgian Government to expedite the adoption of measures to remove the discrimination.

Still another complaint which was disposed of at the seventh session was the U.K. purchase tax, long objected to by the Netherlands, Canada, France, and Italy because of its discriminatory effect on certain imported goods as compared to domestic goods. At this session the U.K. delegation was able to announce that these discriminatory aspects had been eliminated.

No progress was made in eliminating discrimination in certain Brazilian internal taxes. The Brazilian delegation attributed lack of action to the change in the Brazilian Government and expressed the hope that the discrimination would be removed before the next session of the contracting parties.

*Tariffs and Tariff Negotiations*—Work was continued at the seventh session on a plan put forward at the sixth session by the French delegation that tariffs should be lowered by 30 percent on a world-wide basis in three yearly stages of 10 percent. The report of the working party at the seventh session indicates that a great deal of work remains to be done before a specific plan will be available



for the consideration of the contracting parties. Most countries were not prepared at this time to express a view on the principle of the proposal. Study of the problem will continue intersessionally with the possibility that several technically feasible plans of varying degrees of flexibility may be developed for further consideration.

The Council of Europe also submitted to the contracting parties a recommendation concerning the adoption of a common policy for lowering tariff barriers in Europe. This proposal was dealt with separately from the French plan and a report on technical implications, prepared during the seventh session by a group of experts, will be submitted to the Council of Europe. Since this is an experts' report, it did not go before the contracting parties for approval.

The eighth session of the contracting parties will be held September 17, 1953.

## **U. S. Delegations to International Conferences**

### **Sixteenth Session of FAO**

The Department of State announced on November 17 (press release 875) that the Council of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) convened its sixteenth session on that date at Rome. The U.S. delegation is as follows:

#### *U.S. Member*

Clarence J. McCormick, Under Secretary of Agriculture

#### *Alternate U.S. Member*

John J. Haggerty, Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

#### *Associate U.S. Member*

John W. Evans, Acting Director, Office of International Materials Policy, Department of State

#### *Advisers*

Ursula H. Duffus, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Stanley B. Fracker, Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture

L. Wendell Hayes, Attaché for FAO Liaison, American Embassy, Rome

John H. Richter, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

Ralph S. Roberts, Director of Finance, Department of Agriculture

Robert C. Tetro, Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Rome

#### *Adviser and Secretary*

Thomas E. Street, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

In 1947 the FAO Conference established the Council to act for it between its sessions and to keep the world's food and agricultural situation, including national conditions and policies, under constant review.

At its present session, the Council will for the first time be substituting for the Conference in reviewing the world food and agricultural situation. In this connection, participants in this meeting will discuss a report of the FAO Director General, entitled "The State of Food and Agriculture: Review and Outlook 1952," which has been submitted to FAO member governments. The report presents a detailed picture of the changes in world production and consumption of agricultural products from 1950-51 to 1951-52 and a brief outlook for production in 1952-53. It also contains a review and outlook by regions, and a similar analysis of major commodities.

Progress reports will be made to this session of the Council on investment for agricultural development, production of pulp and paper, expanded technical-assistance program, locust control, and the progress and improvement of statistical technology.

In establishing the FAO program of work and budget for 1953, the Council will review its information, educational, and extension services and FAO activities in the fields of agriculture including the progress in the reform of agrarian structures, economics, fisheries, forestry, and nutrition. Constitutional, administrative, financial, and other matters will also be discussed.

The present session, which will be open to the representatives of the 18 governments which are members of the Council, is expected to last 10 days. The fifteenth session of the Council met at Rome, June 9-14, 1952.

## **Communiqués Regarding Korea to the Security Council**

The Headquarters of the United Nations Command has transmitted communiqués regarding Korea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the following United Nations document numbers: S/2817, Oct. 20; S/2818, Oct. 20; S/2819, Oct. 20; S/2820, Oct. 21; S/2821, Oct. 22; S/2822, Oct. 23; S/2824, Oct. 24; S/2825, Oct. 27; S/2827, Oct. 28; S/2828, Oct. 30; S/2829, Oct. 30; S/2830, Oct. 31.

## The United States in the United Nations

[November 15-21, 1952]

### General Assembly

**Ad Hoc Political Committee**—Speaking on the proposals relating to the question of race conflict in South Africa, Charles A. Sprague (U.S.) told the Committee on Nov. 15 that his Government opposed the South African resolution under which the Committee would declare itself not competent to consider the item, "on the ground that it would preclude even discussion." Turning to the 18-power draft resolution which called for establishment of a commission to study the problem, Mr. Sprague expressed his delegation's grave doubts as to the desirability of establishing another commission. The United Nations has only the power to persuade, not to enforce change, and he questioned whether appointment of a commission might not stiffen resistance. The Assembly's "power of persuasion" would be put to better use by an amendment proposed by the Scandinavian countries, which would replace the proposal for a commission by an affirmation that policies not directed toward racial equality are inconsistent with the Charter and would call upon member states to bring their policies into conformity with their obligation under the Charter. This approach, Mr. Sprague said, "would leave enforcement to the lively conscience of the citizens of each country and to the power of the public opinion of the world." (For full text, see p. 868.)

The Scandinavian proposal was submitted as a separate resolution on Nov. 19, and the original 18-power draft was amended by Ecuador and Brazil to include a reference to article 2 of the Charter.

On Nov. 20 the Committee rejected the South African motion on noncompetence by a vote of 6 (Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, U.K., South Africa)—45 (U.S.)—8. Both the 18-power resolution (further amended by the U.S.S.R. to include a reference to article 1 (2) of the Charter) and the Scandinavian proposal were approved. The vote on the first was 35-2 (Peru, South Africa)—22 (U.S., U.K., France); on the Scandinavian draft, the vote was 20 (U.S.)—7 (Soviet bloc, South Africa, Mexico)—32 (U.K., France, India).

**Committee I (Political and Security)**—The Indian delegation on Nov. 17 circulated a draft

resolution on the Korean prisoner-of-war question which would permit prisoners unwilling to return to their homes to remain in the custody of a repatriation commission until their status was decided at the political conference to follow the conclusion of an armistice. On Nov. 19 V. K. Krishna Menon (India) commented point-by-point on his delegation's proposals. The following day Anthony Eden (U.K.) spoke in support of the resolution, emphasizing his belief that, with certain modifications, it "would bring us nearer agreement on the one outstanding issue."

**Committee II (Economic and Financial)**—Having adopted on Nov. 14 a resolution on the financing of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, the Committee on Nov. 17 took up the question of the financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries. A 12-member working group unanimously reported a three-part draft, dealing with the proposed Special Development Fund, the proposed International Finance Corporation, and measures to stimulate the flow of private capital. Chile, Brazil, U.K., and Canada expressed support for the composite text on Nov. 19.

In his supporting statement Isador Lubin (U.S.) noted that his Government approved particularly of part C (measures to stimulate the flow of private capital to underdeveloped areas). In voting for Part A (Special Development Fund), he wanted it made clear that the Economic and Social Council should continue to give its attention to other types of international financing and that study of such a plan in no way committed governments taking part in the study. The U.S. has not changed its substantive position and still does not favor establishment of a world development fund. It still is determined, however, to continue doing its share toward meeting the needs of underdeveloped countries in the most appropriate manner.

After spokesmen for the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Colombia, New Zealand, and India had expressed general approval of the text, Argentina's representative introduced a resolution recommending equitable international prices for primary commodities and execution of national programs of integrated economic development.

The working group's text was approved Nov. 20 in three separate votes, 46-0-5, 46-0-5, and 45-0-6. Only one change was made in the text:

Incorporation in Part C of a Guatemalan amendment specifying that private capital should effectively contribute to the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries.

*Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)*—In its general debate on the right of peoples to self-determination, the Committee is considering two resolutions prepared by the Commission on Human Rights. Resolution A suggests plebiscites to ascertain demands for self-government; Resolution B suggests submission of information on the application of the right to self-determination.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt (U.S.) said on Nov. 18 that "self-determination is a process. It is in essence the process of democracy as contrasted with the process of dictation." It would be unfortunate, she said, if the United Nations limited its concept of self-determination to the non-self-governing world. There were, in our time, flagrant examples of peoples and nations, vigorous and independent, which had been over-run by a dictator. "These peoples and nations are entitled to the restoration of their independence."

*Committee IV (Trusteeship)*—On Nov. 18 the Committee concluded its consideration of factors determining whether a territory is fully self-governing by adopting a 9-point resolution recommending, among other things, that a 10-member special committee be set up to carry further the study on factors.

The resolution represented a proposal introduced originally by Burma, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq, and Venezuela, to which an amendment by the Dominican Republic and Peru was introduced. In its final form, the text incorporated amendments by Argentina, Ecuador, the Netherlands, Poland, and the U.S.S.R.

The resolution was adopted at the close of a 3½-hour session involving a 90-minute discussion of procedure and 24 separate votes. The vote on the resolution as a whole was 34 to 12, with 8 abstentions. The U.S. voted against the proposal.

The resolution asks the Assembly to:

(1) Approve provisionally "as a guide" the factors listed in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors.

(2) Consider individual cases individually, taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples.

(3) Declare that the list of factors should in no way be interpreted to hinder the attainment of self-government.

(4) Declare that "for a territory to be deemed self-governing in economic, social or educational affairs, it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government as referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter."

(5) Recommend that the list of factors be taken into account provisionally in cases examined by the General Assembly concerning cessation of transmission of information on territories or the obligation to transmit information.

(6) Decide to set up a new *ad hoc* committee of 10 members with instructions to continue and carry out a more thorough study of the factors.

(7) Invite the new committee to take into account also earlier statements by governments as well as the following

"additional elements," in relation to chapter XI of the Charter:

(a) the possibility of defining the concept of self-government;

(b) the features guaranteeing the principle of the self-determination of peoples;

(c) the manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples.

(8) Invite members to transmit by 1 May 1953 a statement of their views on "the subjects contained in the terms of reference of the committee."

(9) Convene the committee 4 weeks before the opening of the next General Assembly.

In explanation of vote, Benjamin Gerig (U.S.) stated that two theories underlying the resolution had led the U.S. to vote against its adoption as a whole. The first of these was the concept of the indivisibility of autonomy, which was embodied in the resolution. The second, he said, was the idea that the General Assembly was the authority which was competent to decide when a territory was fully self-governing.

*Committee V (Administrative and Budgetary)*—Continuing its reading of 1953 budget estimates, the Committee on Nov. 17 approved appropriations for the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, for sessions of the General Assembly and subsidiary bodies, and for the International Bureau for Declaration of Death.

The \$650,000 for the High Commissioner's Office was approved by 43 votes in favor, 5 against, with 1 abstention. For sessions of the General Assembly, its commissions, and committees, \$640,000 was unanimously approved, and a supplementary amount of \$22,000 under this section for a Geneva session of the International Law Commission was approved by 39 votes in favor, 5 against, with 3 abstentions. A sum of \$12,500 for the International Bureau for Declaration of Death was accepted by 40 in favor, 5 against, with 1 abstention. In all three cases, negative votes were cast by the Soviet bloc.

On the appropriations for the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Committee rejected, 5 in favor to 41 against, a U.S.S.R. proposal to delete the entire provision for this Office.

Georgi N. Zarubin (U.S.S.R.), supported by the representatives of Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine, moved his proposal on the grounds that the High Commissioner's Office was created "illegally" in contradiction to previous decisions of the Assembly concerning the early repatriation of refugees to their native countries. Jaroslav Pscolka (Czechoslovakia) added that the Office was the "obedient servant" of the United States and other "aggressive powers" which used the refugees as "spies and diversionists." He also charged the Office with recruiting "cheap labor" and said it was directly connected with the U.S. Mutual Security Act for the training of "armed units" for espionage purposes.<sup>1</sup> The Office, he

<sup>1</sup> For an exchange of notes with Czechoslovakia on the Mutual Security Act, see p. 850.



said, was a "blind tool" of the "imperialists interests" for "the propagation of a third world war."

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, denied these charges, dismissing them as "fantasy," and invited the representatives making the allegations to present proof. He emphasized that his job was purely humanitarian, to help those in misery. As for repatriation, he said that his Office helped only those who wished to be repatriated and that forced repatriation was never applied.

*Committee VI (Legal)*—By a roll-call vote of 23-16 (U. S.)-7, the Committee on Nov. 17 adopted an amended Swedish draft proposal on the question of the establishment of an international criminal court. In its operative part, the Swedish draft reads as follows:

The General Assembly,

1. Expresses to the Committee (on International Criminal Jurisdiction) its appreciation for its valuable work on the draft statute,

2. Decides to postpone the consideration of this matter for one year in order to give sufficient time to Member States to present their observations;

3. Urges the Member States which have not yet done so to make their comments and suggestions on the draft statute, in particular if they are of the opinion that further action should be taken by the General Assembly with a view to the establishment of an International Criminal Court;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to publish the comments and suggestions received from governments for such use as the General Assembly may find desirable at a later stage and to place this question on the provisional agenda of the eighth session of the General Assembly.

At the request of Ake Holmback (Sweden), the Committee approved, by a vote of 21-13-9, a proposal that the Swedish revised draft be voted on before the revised draft submitted jointly by Cuba, El Salvador, France, Iran, Israel, the Netherlands and the United States. This joint draft, in effect, expressed the opinion that the matter under discussion should be further considered, and proposed the establishment of a 17-member committee for this purpose.

George Maurice Morris (U. S.) stated during the debate preceding the vote that his Government was neither in favor of nor opposed to the establishment of an international criminal court. It would cooperate in exploring all aspects of such a possible institution. It was neither optimistic nor pessimistic with regard to the results of further studies. He thought it desirable that all aspects of the idea be laid before Committee VI before any final decision be taken and said it would be useful to commission a small group to survey the suggestions and criticisms made regarding the question. He believed that the work and conclusions of such a group would be helpful, as those better informed usually made the best decisions. He would therefore vote in favor of the joint draft.

Senator Theodore F. Green (U.S.) was first speaker on Nov. 19 when the Committee began consideration of the question of defining aggres-

sion. He questioned "most seriously" the wisdom of trying in the General Assembly to prepare a definition of aggression. In the U.S. view, an effort to particularize the standards of peaceful conduct laid down by the Charter would not be likely to help in deterring acts of aggression.

A resolution submitted by the U.S.S.R. would have the General Assembly declare that in an international conflict that State "shall be declared the attacker which first commits one of the following acts:

(a) Declaration of war against another State;

(b) Invasion by its armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;

(c) Bombardment by its land, sea or air forces of the territory of another State or the carrying out of a deliberate attack on the ships or aircraft of the latter;

(d) The landing or leading of its land, sea or air forces inside the boundaries of another State without the permission of the government of the latter, or the violation of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the length of their stay or the extent of the area in which they may stay;

(e) Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;

(f) Support of armed bands organized in its own territory which invade the territory of another State, or refusal, on being requested by the invaded State, to take in its own territory any action within its power to deny such bands any aid or protection."

The U.S.S.R. draft lists the measures which should not be used as justifications for attack. Among these were, for example:

The backwardness of any nation politically, economically or culturally; alleged shortcomings of its administration; any danger which may threaten the life or property of aliens; any revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes; the establishment or maintenance in any State of any political, economic or social system; the violation of international treaties; the violation of rights and interests in the sphere of trade, concessions or any other kind of economic activity acquired by another State or its citizens; the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations; measures in connection with an economic or financial boycott; repudiation of debts; prohibition or restriction of immigration or modification of the status of foreigners; the violation of privileges granted to the official representatives of another State; refusal to allow the passage of armed forces proceeding to the territory of a third State; measures of a religious or antireligious nature; and frontier incidents.

#### Trusteeship Council

A 4-member mission will visit the Pacific trust territories early in 1953, the Trusteeship Council decided Nov. 20 as it resumed its eleventh session, which had adjourned on July 24.

Consideration of a special report on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem is the principal business of the second part of the Council's

eleventh session. The Council has before it on this subject a special report by the visiting mission which went to West African trust territories this year.

The mission to the Pacific, agreed on Nov. 20, will be composed of the Dominican Republic, France, Syria (which becomes a member of the Council in January 1953), and the United Kingdom. It will leave New York on about February 9

and will return in mid-May. Territories which the mission will visit are the Pacific Islands (under U.S. trusteeship), Nauru and New Guinea (under Australian trusteeship) and Western Samoa (under New Zealand trusteeship). Countries to be members of the mission were decided by ballot and the names of representatives will be submitted later for approval of the Council, which will also consider the terms of reference of the mission.

## Report of U.N. Command Operations in Korea

### FORTY-NINTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1-15, 1952<sup>1</sup>

U.N. doc. S/2805  
Transmitted October 9, 1952

I herewith submit report number 49 of the United Nations Command Operations in Korea for the period 1-15 July 1952, inclusive. United Nations Command communiqués numbers 1312-1326 provide detailed accounts of these operations.

The Delegations to the Armistice Negotiations met in plenary sessions daily through 13 July. During the open sessions of 1-3 July inclusive, the Communists continued their violent propaganda charges against the United Nations Command, using selected quotations from the 1949 Geneva Convention to attempt to force the return of all Prisoners of War to Communist control, with the use of force if necessary. The Senior United Nations Command Delegate refuted the Communists' illogical arguments, re-emphasized the reasonableness and fairness of the United Nations Command proposal, and reviewed the current obstacles standing in the way of an honorable armistice.

On 1 July the Senior United Nations Command Delegate stated, in his defense of the draft agreement proposed by the United Nations Command on 28 April (see United Nations Command Report Number 45), that the possibility existed for a mutually acceptable armistice within the terms of paragraphs 51 and 52 thereof. The Communists displayed considerable interest in this statement and on 3

July suggested that the meetings again be held in executive session. With the concurrence of the Senior United Nations Command Delegate, the executive sessions were re-opened on 4 July, and have continued since that date. It is not yet apparent whether this step was taken by the Communists to present a new compromise proposal or whether the Communists misinterpreted the United Nations Command statement as indicating that the United Nations Command was ready to abandon its firm stand and was willing to accept some compromise solution. The United Nations Command has not wavered from nor will it alter its position as expressed in the proposal of 28 April. On the morning of 14 July the Communist Delegation requested a two-day recess.

On 13 July the following message from the Senior Communist Delegate was delivered to the Senior United Nations Command Delegate:

July 12, 1952. Major General William K. Harrison, Senior Delegate, United Nations Command Delegation. At about 2300 hours on July 11, 1952 military aircraft of your side carried out bombing and strafing against our Prisoner-of-War Camp Nine situated at Mukhyon-ni, Pyongyang, resulting in the killing of thirteen, serious wounding of nineteen, light wounding of fifty-three, and missing of twenty-five of your captured personnel. I hereby lodge with your side a serious protest regarding this grave bloody incident.

The stated Prisoner-of-War Camp was provided with conspicuous marking in accordance with the agreement between both sides, and its exact location had been furnished to your side long ago. Your wanton bombing is in full violation of agreement. Your side has not hitherto dealt with the previous five incidents of bombing and strafing against our Prisoner-of-War Camps, and yet there has occurred again this new serious incident of wanton bombing of our Prisoner-of-War Camp Nine. This proves once again incontrovertibly that your side willfully violates International Law and principles of humanity, and that in order to execute your barbarous policy of bombing peaceful cities, your side does not hesitate to kill your own captured personnel.

Your side must immediately deal with this serious incident of bloodshed responsibility. Any attempt to shirk the responsibility or continued act of violation against the agreement between both sides will only aggravate your guilt. General Nam Il, Senior Delegate, Delegation of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers.

<sup>1</sup> Transmitted to the Security Council by the representative of the U. S. to the U.N. on Nov. 4. Texts of the 30th, 31st, and 32d reports appear in the BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1952, p. 266; the 33d report, Mar. 10, 1952, p. 395; the 34th report, Mar. 17, 1952, p. 430; the 35th report, Mar. 31, 1952, p. 512; the 36th and 37th reports, Apr. 14, 1952, p. 594; the 38th report, May 5, 1952, p. 715; the 39th report, May 19, 1952, p. 788; the 40th report, June 23, 1952, p. 998; the 41st report, June 30, 1952, p. 1038; the 42d report, July 21, 1952, p. 114; the 43d report, Aug. 4, 1952, p. 194; the 44th report, Aug. 11, 1952, p. 231; the 45th report Aug. 18, 1952, p. 272; the 46th report, Sept. 29, 1952, p. 495; the 47th report, Oct. 27, 1952, p. 668; and the 48th report, Nov. 17, 1952, p. 795.

Photographs which were taken immediately after the attacks on vital military targets within the Pyongyang area, and of Prisoner-of-War Camp Number Nine, revealed that not a single bomb or shot landed within close proximity of Prisoner-of-War Camp Number Nine. A message to this effect was prepared for delivery to the Senior Communist Delegate in response to the Communist allegation quoted above.

The continued dispersion of the once heavily populated prisoner-of-war camp at Koje-do proceeded without incident. Concurrent with the movement of personnel who had been segregated for return to Communist control, construction of small, scattered 500-man compounds continued at Chogu-ri, on the southwest end of Koje-do, at Pongam-do and Yoncho-do, small islands southwest of Koje-do, and at Cheju City on the north central extremity of Cheju-do.

Throughout all prisoner of war and civilian internee camps, Eighth Army authorities have been instructed to be especially vigilant in detecting signs of Communist-inspired subversion. The commanding officer of the pro-Communist Chinese prisoner-of-war camp at Cheju City reported that plans had been uncovered which indicated that continued efforts may be made to disrupt the orderly discipline in that installation. These plans included:

- (a) Deliberate misunderstanding of orders.
- (b) Ignoring instructions or explanations of camp supervisory personnel.
- (c) Continued demonstrations and loud noisemaking.
- (d) Surreptitious communications between compounds.

The release of civilian internees and their resettlement within the Republic of Korea proceeded satisfactorily and without incident. Through the close co-operation of civilian authorities and United Nations Civil Assistance Command in Korea, each shipment to the respective provinces is being handled efficiently and is receiving continued favorable reaction from the Republic of Korea. With the exception of those civilian internees who are hospitalized in Pusan and not deemed physically able to be discharged at this time, it is expected that the entire group of about 27,000 who elected not to return to Communist control will be released from United Nations Command custody by mid-August.

United Nations Command ground forces found enemy-initiated action most frequent and intense along the central and extreme eastern fronts where several local attacks of up to battalion strength were launched against United Nations Command outpost elements. All of these hostile efforts were amply supported by artillery, and in one case enemy armor assisted the attackers.

Enemy action along the western front diminished. The much disputed United Nations Command outpost position in the Mabang area experienced a three-pronged attack of battalion size on 4 July. After a four-hour action, the enemy was forced to withdraw. Apparently disheartened by his earlier heavy losses and lack of success in this area, the enemy made no further attempts to assault United Nations Command positions which had been subjected to repeated hostile attacks. United Nations Command raiding elements launched several punishing attacks in the Sangyong and Punji areas. The first action occurred southeast of Sangyong where United

Nations Command raiders forced an enemy unit to vacate its position after an all day battle. Again, on 3 July, a hostile battalion suffered several hundred casualties as a result of a United Nations Command raid in the Punji area.

On the central front action flared again in the Kumsong sector on 7 July when a hostile company supported by thirteen tanks attempted a penetration of twin outposts southeast of Kumsong. The attack was blunted after a two-hour fight and the enemy force withdrew. A see-saw battle for two outpost positions southeast of Yulsa occurred during the night of 8-9 July. The enemy force, gradually reinforced from platoon to battalion strength, finally forced United Nations Command elements from the easternmost outpost. On the previous day the enemy reacted violently to a United Nations Command raid which had successfully seized commanding terrain. In this action, United Nations Command elements were later forced to relinquish their gains by a counterattacking enemy company.

On the eastern front a comparative lull was broken on 9 July when a strong United Nations Command raid was conducted against an enemy position one mile northwest of Oemyon. Heavy casualties were inflicted against the tenacious hostile defenders during the ensuing day-long fight in which United Nations Command elements beat back three enemy counterattacks. On the following day, two miles further north, two enemy companies struck a United Nations Command position situated on dominating terrain. The attackers, reinforced to battalion strength during the night, forced United Nations elements to withdraw. This began a vicious battle which continued for three full days. During this time United Nations Command elements succeeded in regaining the crest of the hill but were subsequently forced again to relinquish it to the enemy. A series of United Nations Command counterattacks beginning on 13 July netted partial control of the hill mass which was completely re-secured on 14 July.

The estimated strength of dissident forces operating in United Nations Command rear areas decreased slightly during the period. There has been no significant change in the level of dissident activity and no slackening in the pursuit and elimination of these elements by the United Nations security forces.

No major change in enemy troop dispositions or front lines occurred during the period. The upward trend of enemy artillery fire continued with an average of over 7,000 rounds falling each day across the battle front. This fact, coupled with increased supply and frontline activity, is evidence that the enemy combat capabilities continue to improve. However, there is still no indication of any early Communist departure from their present defensive attitude.

Aircraft from United Nations Command fast carriers operating in the Sea of Japan flew against North Korean transportation facilities, supply routes, and supply storage areas. Attacks by jet and propeller driven aircraft were concentrated on targets along the Korean east coast. Rail lines were cut in many places. Destruction and damage were inflicted on bridges, by-passes, rail



cars, military buildings, boats, warehouses, trucks, troop barracks, gun positions, and transformer stations.

Supply, ammunition, and fuel dumps, as well as vehicle loading areas were attacked repeatedly in the area south of Wonsan, mostly with unassessed results.

The Funai hydro-electric complex was attacked with two plants rendered unserviceable, and the third temporarily unoperational. This is the smallest complex in North Korea, furnishing about one-half of one percent of all power. It serves Northeast Korea and the Musan Iron Mines.

United Nations Command carriers continued to operate in the Yellow Sea. Their planes furnished cover and air spot for the surface units on blockade patrols and anti-invasion stations. Support was furnished for friendly guerrilla operations. These units also flew reconnaissance missions and offensive strikes as far north as Hanchon, into the Chinnampo area, the Hwanghae Province, and in close support of the frontline troops. Rail and highway bridges were attacked, supply dumps and storage areas were demolished or damaged, and destruction and damage were inflicted on numerous military buildings, rail cars, gun positions, warehouses, boats, ox-carts and pack animals.

United Nations Command naval aircraft based ashore in Korea flew close support missions for the frontline units, destroying and damaging numerous bunkers, mortar and gun positions, tanks, personnel and supply shelters, trucks, railroad bridges, road bridges, and military buildings. Rails were also cut in many places.

Patrol planes based in Japan conducted daylight reconnaissance missions over the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea and the Tsushima Straits. They also flew day and night anti-submarine patrols and weather reconnaissance missions for surface units in the Japan and Yellow Seas. On 12 July, a patrol aircraft while on a routine reconnaissance patrol received 20 mm. fire from two unidentified surface vessels flying red flags while in the Yellow Sea area. The aircraft received no damage.

The Naval blockade along the Korean east coast continued from the bomblines to Chongjin, with surface units making day and night coastal patrols, firing on key rail targets along the coastal main supply route daily to maintain rail cuts, bridge cuts, and blocked tunnels at these several specific points. The siege by surface vessels continued at the major ports of Wonsan, Hungnam, and Songjin, subjecting the enemy forces at these ports to day and night destructive, harassing and interdiction fire. The Communists were hampered in the use of coastal waters for shipping, and fishing was curtailed as craft detected were taken under fire and either destroyed or driven ashore.

Fog along the east coast at Wonsan and to the north hampered spotting aircraft, shore fire control parties, and the firing vessels themselves. Destruction and damage included many enemy casualties, rail cars, military buildings, boats, railroad bridges, guns, bunkers and warehouses. Rails were also cut in several places. A total of seventeen prisoners were taken from small craft by blockading vessels. These include refugees who ventured out to surrender and fishermen who were captured.

Fire support vessels at the bomblines provided gunfire on

call for the frontline troops and accounted for the destruction and damage of many bunkers and military structures.

Enemy shore batteries were active almost daily against the blockading vessels and minesweepers all along the coast. In many instances friendly units were straddled; only one vessel was affected, suffering superficial damage and minor personnel injuries from a close air burst. In each instance, the battery was taken under counter fire with many guns destroyed and damaged. In many cases the minesweepers, while operating close inshore, received machine gun and small arms fire. There were no reports of damage or casualties.

On the Korean west coast, the United Nations Command surface units manned anti-invasion stations along the coast from Chinnampo to the Han River Estuary, in support of the friendly islands north of the battle line. Daylight firing into enemy positions started many fires and secondary explosions, destroying numerous military buildings. Three friendly guerrilla raids were carried out with the support of surface and air units. A total of 164 casualties were inflicted on the enemy and two prisoners were taken.

Vessels of the Republic of Korea Navy conducted close inshore patrols and blockade along both coasts and assisted United Nations Command naval forces in mine-sweeping duties.

United Nations Command minesweepers continued operations to keep the channels, gunfire support areas and anchorages free of mines of all types. Sweepers also enlarged areas and swept close inshore as needed by the operating forces.

United Nations Command naval auxiliary vessels, Military Sea Transportation Service, and merchant vessels under contract provided personnel lifts and logistic support for the United Nations Command naval, air and ground forces in Japan and Korea.

Operation Spreadout, the transfer of prisoners of war and internees from Koje-do, continued with a new lift of 36,900 persons scheduled for the period 3 to 10 July. Tropical storms damaged compounds at new locations delaying the lift about five days; however, 26,900 have been lifted as of 12 July.

United Nations Command air operations were highlighted on 11 July when the United Nations Command air force, assisted by naval air units, conducted a massive, co-ordinated attack on the numerous supply targets and military installations in the Pyongyang, Sariwon and Hwangju areas. In well planned and precisely timed strikes, the aircraft bombed, strafed and spread napalm on factories, ammunition dumps, vehicle parks and repair shops, storage buildings, troop concentrations and military headquarters buildings.

Beginning late in the morning with a flak suppression mission which softened up the area for the main effort, the attacks were conducted in three successive waves of fighter bombers. The attacking planes reported numerous secondary explosions and fires in the factory areas and vehicle parks. Post strike photography and assessment indicated extensive damage in all target areas, the destruction or major damage of numerous buildings and vehicles, and good coverage in rail centers.

Throughout the attack period United Nations Command

air force interceptors patrolled between the target and the Manchurian bases of the enemy jets, while others provided cover for the fighter bombers conducting the attacks. The cover missions were timed to arrive in the target area prior to the attacking fighter bombers, remain throughout the strike and cover the withdrawal.

The interceptors patrolling in the northwest areas observed fifty MIGs between the Yalu and Chongchong Rivers and engaged thirty of them in eight separate air battles. The United Nations Command pilots claimed one MIG probably destroyed and two others damaged. No damage was suffered by United Nations Command aircraft.

After the daylight raids by fighter bombers, the medium bombers conducted the largest night air strike of the Korean conflict when ordnance and supply targets at Pyongyang, Hamhung and Kyomipo and Sinmak were blasted. The main effort was assigned to the Pyongyang targets where bombs were dropped on vehicle storage and repair facilities and industrial plants. Targets had been carefully selected by use of photo reconnaissance and intelligence reports. Pilots were able to report from visual observation that bombs were on target and good coverage was obtained.

The bombers encountered only meager enemy flak and crews gave high praise to the flak suppression conducted by the fighter bombers.

For approximately one month prior to the raid on Pyongyang and other main supply targets, the United Nations Command aircraft had dropped leaflets warning civilians to stay away from military targets. Immediately after the strikes more leaflets were dropped telling civilians to beware of delayed action bombs and to stay away from bomb craters. Every precaution was taken to attack only military targets and to prevent injury to non-combatants.

United Nations Command air force operations saw medium bombers hit rail bridges and marshalling yards to block traffic and destroy Communist supplies, rolling stock and equipment. The largest attack on rail bridges was conducted on 2 July when the medium bombers knocked out the Sanwangdong railroad bridge and destroyed portions of the bridge at Huichon. On the same night the medium bombers hit the Yongmidong bridge.

The medium bomber effort was then shifted to key marshalling yards in North Korea as they bombed yards at Yongdok, Huichon, Kunuri, Chongju, Sinanju, Kujangdong and Hamhung.

The main airfields in North Korea remained unserviceable, therefore no medium bombers were scheduled to attack these targets.

The United Nations Command interceptors continued their regular patrols along the Yalu River in search of enemy jets, although weather hindered operations on four days. The MIGs seemed reluctant to appear in force and major engagements occurred on only two occasions.

On 4 July, when the fighter bombers were attacking targets very near the border, seventy-four MIGs attempted to block the attack, but interceptors in the area prevented all except four of the enemy from reaching and damaging the fighter bombers. The day ended with the interceptor pilots recording thirteen MIGs destroyed and eight others damaged.

An unusual event of the day occurred when a United Nations Command interceptor scored hits on a MIG plane and then flew up in close formation with the enemy jet. The enemy pilot shook his fist at the United Nations Command pilot and tried to ram the United Nations Command aircraft, but did not succeed. The enemy pilot then bailed out.

The fighter bombers continued to schedule a large number of sorties on general support missions to destroy enemy supplies and equipment stockpiled along main supply routes. The aircraft also hit rail lines, gun positions and troop concentrations in forward areas and made numerous strikes on small supply points and vehicles.

On 4 July United Nations Command fighter bombers, carrying high explosive bombs and napalm, struck a North Korean officer training school located within a few miles of the Yalu River. Fires were started throughout the target area.

Light bombers flew night close support sorties all along the battle line and conducted night intruder missions along the important supply routes. The practice of concentrating on a few routes, with the aircraft maintaining a constant patrol, was continued and resulted in the destruction of numerous enemy vehicles.

Transport aircraft conducted regular operations lifting supplies and equipment to United Nations Command forces in Korea and evacuating wounded troops and personnel being rotated.

In connexion with the first anniversary of the opening of the Korean armistice negotiations, United Nations Command leaflets, loudspeaker and radio broadcasts reviewed the origin and course of the discussions. These media again summarized the salient points contained in the 28 April United Nations Command proposal for a realistic and equitable settlement of the remaining issues confronting the armistice delegations. In reporting current developments at Panmunjom, United Nations Command news sheets and radio newscasts have carefully adhered to the agreement governing the executive sessions which began on 4 July. In consonance with the United Nations policy of taking every possible step both to restore peace and to prevent needless loss of life, United Nations Command leaflets and radio broadcasts are being used continually to warn civilians in enemy-occupied northern Korea to move away from places where the Communists have concentrated war material factories and military equipment, supplies and personnel.

These warnings are a humanitarian measure taken to minimize civilian loss of life in United Nations Command attacks on military targets.

A summarization of reports on incidence rates for communicable diseases indicates decided progress in combatting disease among the South Korean civilian population. During the first five months of 1952, the incidence rates for typhus and smallpox averaged only two percent of the rates for the same period of 1951. For other diseases during the same periods, the 1952 rates for typhoid averaged only 3.5 percent and for diphtheria only twelve percent of 1951 rates. No cases of cholera or plague were reported in 1952. Adequate supplies of vaccines, sera and antibiotics were major factors in the improved health conditions.

## Conflict Between Free World and Communism Defined

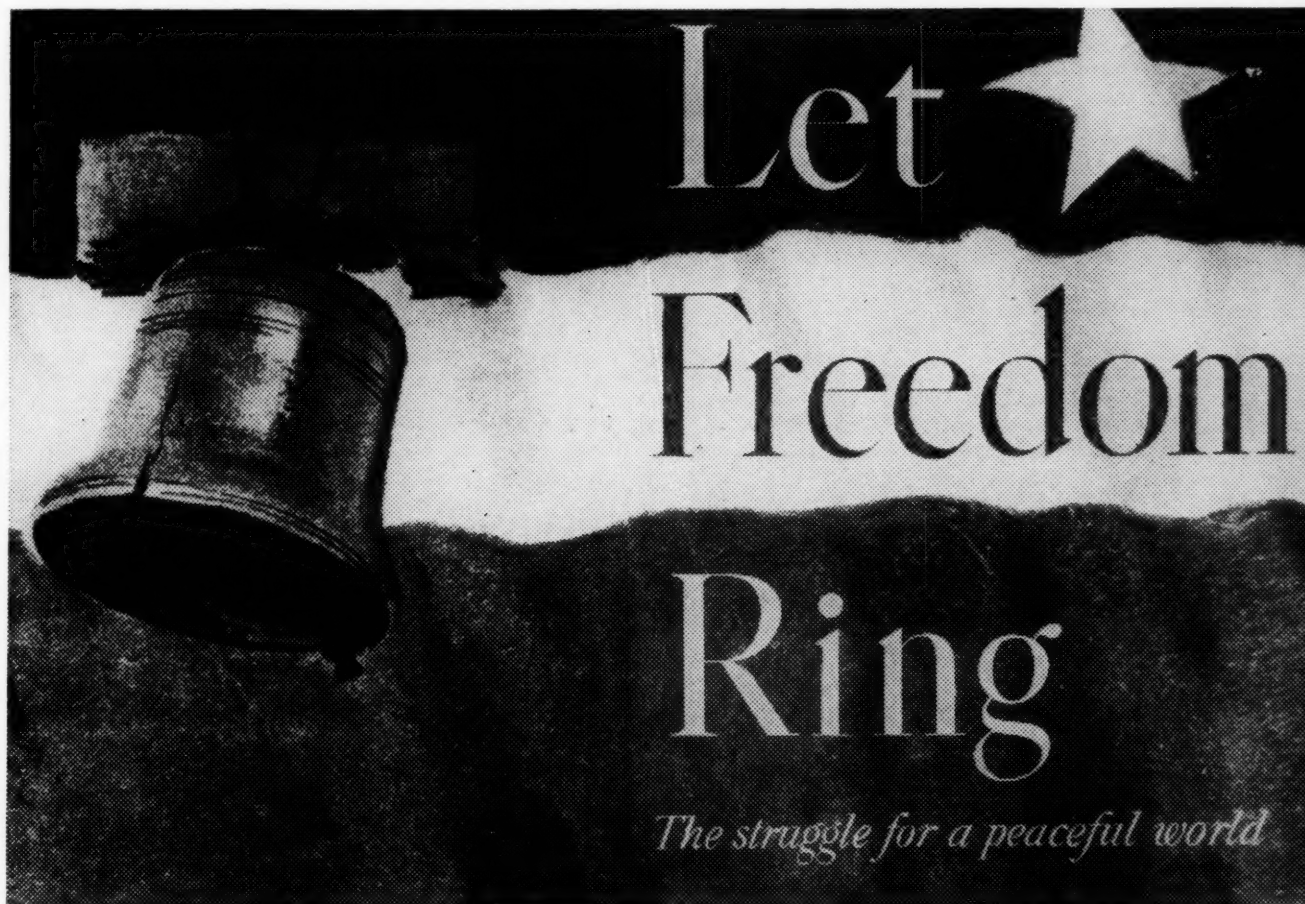
Press release 877 dated November 19

The Department of State on November 23 released an illustrated booklet<sup>1</sup> designed to present a guide to the causes underlying present world tensions.

Written and illustrated for Americans against the background of our own history, *Let Freedom Ring* defines the conflict between the free world

of America's actions to meet the threat to our security: foreign military and economic aid programs, our alliances with the nations of the free world, the Campaign of Truth, and our own defense program.

*Let Freedom Ring* acknowledges that the present way to peace is "hard and costly" and describes the constant efforts being made to bring about the regulation and balanced reduction of all armaments. "We hope," the booklet states, "that in time the Kremlin, in its own self-interest, will come to recognize the necessity of settling peaceably the issues that divide us."



and Soviet communism. It explains the nature of the police state and its expansionist ambitions. It tells in detail why, as long as Soviet communism continues its present course of action, the free world "has no choice but to become strong and stay that way."

The booklet also tells the story and purpose

<sup>1</sup> Department of State publication 4443.

*Let Freedom Ring* tells the American people how they, as citizens of a great world power, can contribute to the security and interests of the Nation, and at the same time play a leading role toward building a real peace based on freedom and justice.

*Let Freedom Ring* is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 50 cents a copy.



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### Check List of Department of State Press Releases: Nov. 17-21, 1952

Releases may be obtained from the Office of the Special Assistant for Press Relations, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Press releases issued prior to Nov. 17 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 841 of Oct. 24, 857 of Nov. 3, and 865 of Nov. 10.

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†874	11/17	Point 4 director to Pakistan
875	11/17	16th session of FAO
*876	11/17	Seymour: Chief, N.Y. Information
877	11/19	Release of "Let Freedom Ring"
†878	11/19	Mexican claims installation paid
†879	11/19	Safety of life at sea
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883	11/20	Point 4 assistance to Iraq
†884	11/21	U.S. holders of German bonds
†885	11/21	Brown: Escapee program
886	11/21	Acheson: U.S. Canadian relations

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